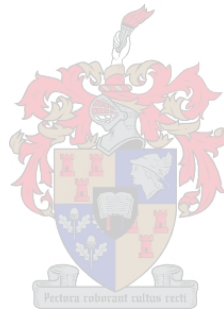


HIGH SCHOOL LEARNERS' NARRATIVES ABOUT BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR

ILSE LOUISE MARAIS

*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Education in Educational Psychology (MEdPsych)
in the Faculty of Education
at
Stellenbosch University*



Supervisor: Professor R. Carolissen

Co-supervisor: Dr L. Damons

December 2016

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that the reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it to obtain any qualification.

Date: December 2016

Copyright © 2016 Stellenbosch University

All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

Alcohol and substance abuse amongst learners and adults are well researched internationally and quantitative studies conducted in South Africa look more deeply into this universal issue. However, few studies on adolescents' narratives about binge drinking have been conducted in South Africa. This qualitative case study explores the stories that Grade 11 learners tell about binge drinking behaviour. A number of theoretical strands ground the study. These strands include Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological systems theory, social learning and social control theory, the dual system theory and the alcohol expectancy theory. The whole of a Grade 11 group of learners from a school in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town was selected as research participants, based on their being in Grade 11 at a specific school. The first round of data was collected through 62 essays written by the Grade 11 learners, as well as two separate groups focusing on girls and boys respectively. The themes that emerged included narratives about the nature and extent of binge drinking, the reasons for drinking, the role that parents play, narratives about the consequences of drinking, issues of masculinity and femininity and narratives about intervention and prevention programmes. The findings suggested that adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour for various reasons, such as being in the developmental phase of adolescence, with parents playing a significant role and differences existing between boys' and girls' drinking behaviour, and the learners also offered their stories of how intervention and prevention programmes might be approached. The participants emphasized that engaging in binge drinking was part of almost every young person's life and that peer pressure played a significant role in drinking behaviour.

Keywords: Binge drinking, adolescents

OPSOMMING

Alkohol en dwelmmisbruik onder leerders en volwassenes word beide internasionaal en nasionaal nagevors. Vele kwantitatiewe studies in Suid-Afrika kyk dieper na hierdie universele probleem. Daar is egter skaars kwalitatiewe navorsing oor adolessente se oormatige drinkgewoontes in Suid-Afrika beskikbaar. Hierdie kwalitatiewe navorsing ondersoek stories wat Graad 11-leerders vertel oor oormatige drinkgewoontes. Teoretiese benaderinge tot die studie sluit Bronfenbrenner se bio-ekologiese sisteemteorie, sosiale leer en sosiale beheerteorie, die tweeledige stelsel teorie sowel as die alkohol verwagtingsteorie, in. 'n Graad 11-groep van 'n skool in die Noordelike Voorstede van Kaapstad, is gekies as navorsingsdeelnemers op grond daarvan dat hul in Graad 11 in die spesifieke skool is. Die eerste rondte van data is ingesamel deur middel van 62 opstelle wat deur die Graad 11-leerders geskryf is asook twee afsonderlike meisie-en seunsfokusgroepe. Prominente temas wat na vore gekom het sluit stories oor die aard van oormatige drinkgewoontes, redes vir drankmisbruik, die rol wat ouers speel, stories oor die gevolge van drankmisbruik, temas van manlikheid en vroulikheid asook stories oor intervensie- en voorkomingsprogramme, in. Die bevindings dui daarop dat adolessente betrokke raak in oormatige drinkgewoontes as gevolg van verskeie redes soos die ontwikkelingsfase van adolessensie, ouers wat 'n belangrike rol speel, verskille tussen seuns- en dogters se drinkgewoontes en ook stories oor hoe intervensie- en voorkomingsprogramme moontlik gebruik kan word. Die deelnemers het beklemtoon hoe oormatige drinkgewoontes amper deel is van elke jongmens se lewe asook wat die invloed van groepsdruk op oormatige drinkgewoontes is.

Trefwoorde: Oormatige drinkgewoontes, adolessente

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to express my gratitude to God who has guided my thinking for this thesis and helped me to persevere.

Thank you to my supervisor, Prof Carolissen and co-supervisor, Dr Damons, for pushing me when I needed a shove and for sharing my excitement about my topic.

My appreciation goes to my husband, Wynand. Thank you for your never-ending patience, for motivating me to complete this thesis, and for taking over the chores.

Lastly, my sincere gratitude goes to my parents, who were very passionate about my education, and supported me on this journey – especially my dad, who spent many nights reading and editing my work. Showers of blessings!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|--------------|
| DECLARATION | ii |
| ABSTRACT | iii |
| OPSOMMING | iv |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | v |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | vi |
| LIST OF APPENDICES | xiii |
| LIST OF TABLES | xiv |
| LIST OF FIGURES | xv |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | xvi |
| CHAPTER 1 | 1 |
| 1.1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1.1 Nature and Context of Study | 2 |
| 1.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK | 5 |
| 1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN | 6 |
| 1.4 RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION | 6 |
| 1.4.1 Population and Sampling | 7 |
| 1.4.2 Procedure | 7 |
| 1.4.3 Quality assurance | 8 |
| 1.4.4 Data analysis | 8 |
| 1.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS | 9 |
| 1.6 DEFINING KEY CONCEPTS | 10 |
| 1.6.1 Binge drinking | 10 |
| 1.6.2 Adolescents | 10 |
| 1.6.3 Secondary school | 10 |
| 1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS | 10 |
| | vi |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----------|
| 1.8 | CONCLUSION | 11 |
| | CHAPTER 2 | 12 |
| 2.1 | INTRODUCTION | 12 |
| 2.2 | ADOLESCENCE | 13 |
| 2.3 | ALCOHOL ABUSE | 17 |
| 2.3.1 | Risk and protective factors for substance abuse | 19 |
| 2.4 | DEFINING BINGE DRINKING | 24 |
| 2.5 | REASONS FOR ADOLESCENT BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR | 25 |
| 2.5.1 | Having a good time | 25 |
| 2.5.2 | Gaining self-confidence | 26 |
| 2.5.3 | Peer pressure | 26 |
| 2.5.4 | Role of parents | 27 |
| 2.6 | DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR | 28 |
| 2.7 | INTERVENTION AND PREVENTION PROGRAMMES | 30 |
| 2.8 | CONCLUSION | 32 |
| | CHAPTER 3 | 34 |
| 3.1 | INTRODUCTION | 34 |
| 3.2 | MY RESEARCH PARADIGM | 34 |
| 3.2.1 | Post-modernism | 35 |
| 3.2.2 | Social constructivism | 36 |
| 3.2.3 | Beliefs underlying this study | 37 |
| 3.3 | RESEARCH METHODOLOGY | 38 |
| 3.3.1 | Qualitative research | 38 |
| 3.4 | GENERATING THE DATA | 39 |
| 3.4.1 | Context of the study | 39 |

| | | |
|------------------|---|-----------|
| 3.4.2 | Sampling | 40 |
| 3.5 | METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION | 41 |
| 3.5.1 | Documents | 42 |
| 3.5.2 | Focus groups | 42 |
| 3.5.3 | Recording the data | 44 |
| 3.6 | DATA ANALYSIS | 44 |
| 3.7 | DATA VERIFICATION | 47 |
| 3.7.1 | Trustworthiness | 47 |
| 3.7.2 | Credibility | 47 |
| 3.7.2.1 | Triangulation | 48 |
| 3.7.2.2 | Member checks | 48 |
| 3.7.2.3 | Peer examination | 48 |
| 3.7.3 | Dependability | 49 |
| 3.7.3.1 | Investigator's position | 49 |
| 3.7.3.2 | Audit trail | 49 |
| 3.7.4 | Transferability | 50 |
| 3.8 | ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS | 50 |
| 3.8.1 | Consent and voluntarily participation | 51 |
| 3.8.1.1 | Institutional permission | 51 |
| 3.8.2 | Beneficence | 52 |
| 3.8.3 | Non-maleficence | 52 |
| 3.8.4 | Respect | 52 |
| 3.8.5 | Justice | 52 |
| 3.8.6 | Confidentiality and anonymity | 53 |
| 3.9 | CONCLUSION | 53 |
| CHAPTER 4 | | 54 |
| 4.1 | INTRODUCTION | 54 |
| 4.2 | EXPOSITION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS | 54 |
| 4.2.1 | The nature and extent of binge drinking | 55 |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----------|
| 4.2.1.1 | Where and how binge drinking takes place | 55 |
| 4.2.1.2 | Gaining access to alcohol | 56 |
| 4.2.1.3 | Binge drinking starting age | 57 |
| 4.2.2 | Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | 58 |
| 4.2.2.1 | Adolescence as a phase of life | 58 |
| 4.2.2.2 | Peer pressure | 59 |
| 4.2.2.3 | Emotional hardships | 61 |
| 4.2.3 | Narratives of parental enabling | 62 |
| 4.2.3.1 | Parental monitoring | 63 |
| 4.2.3.2 | Examples set by parents | 63 |
| 4.2.3.3 | Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents | 65 |
| 4.2.4 | Narratives of consequence | 65 |
| 4.2.4.1 | Effects of binge drinking | 66 |
| 4.2.5 | Narratives of performative: Masculinity and feminities | 68 |
| 4.2.5.1 | Difference between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour | 68 |
| 4.2.5.2 | Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys | 70 |
| 4.2.6 | Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | 71 |
| 4.2.6.1 | Insights into binge drinking behaviour | 72 |
| 4.2.6.2 | Prevention and intervention programmes | 72 |
| 4.2.6.3 | How adolescents will stop engaging in binge drinking behaviour | 72 |
| 4.2.6.4 | Role of parents | 73 |
| 4.3 | EXPOSITION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS | 77 |
| 4.4 | PROCESS ANALYSIS OF GIRLS' FOCUS GROUP | 77 |
| 4.5 | CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GIRLS' FOCUS GROUP | 78 |
| 4.5.1 | Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | 78 |
| 4.5.1.1 | Adolescence as a phase of life | 78 |
| 4.5.1.2 | Peer pressure | 79 |
| 4.5.1.3 | Emotional hardships | 80 |
| 4.5.2 | Narratives of parental enabling | 81 |
| 4.5.2.1 | Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents | 81 |
| 4.5.2.2 | Examples set by parents | 82 |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----------|
| 4.5.3 | Narratives of consequence | 83 |
| 4.5.3.1 | Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity | 83 |
| 4.5.3.2 | Negative influence on relationships | 83 |
| 4.5.4 | Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities | 84 |
| 4.5.4.1 | Difference between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour | 84 |
| 4.5.4.2 | Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys | 85 |
| 4.5.4.3 | Judging girls' drinking behaviour | 85 |
| 4.5.5 | Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | 86 |
| 4.5.5.1 | Intervention programmes | 86 |
| 4.6 | PROCESS ANALYSIS OF BOYS' FOCUS GROUP | 88 |
| 4.6.1 | Narratives of nature and extent of binge drinking | 88 |
| 4.6.1.1 | Defining binge drinking | 89 |
| 4.6.1.2 | Details of where and how binge drinking takes place | 90 |
| 4.6.1.3 | Binge drinking starting age | 90 |
| 4.6.2 | Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | 91 |
| 4.6.2.1 | Adolescence as a phase of life | 91 |
| 4.6.2.2 | Peer pressure | 92 |
| 4.6.2.3 | Emotional hardships | 93 |
| 4.6.2.4 | Rebellion | 94 |
| 4.6.3 | Narratives of parental enabling | 94 |
| 4.6.3.1 | Parental monitoring | 95 |
| 4.6.3.2 | Examples set by parents | 95 |
| 4.6.3.3 | Parents purchasing and providing alcohol | 95 |
| 4.6.4 | Narratives of consequence | 96 |
| 4.6.4.1 | Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity and physical effects of consuming alcohol | 96 |
| 4.6.5 | Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities | 97 |
| 4.6.5.1 | Difference between boys and girls binge drinking behaviour | 97 |
| 4.6.5.2 | Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys | 98 |
| 4.6.5.3 | Rebellious behaviour | 100 |
| 4.6.6 | Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | 100 |

| | | |
|------------|---|------------|
| 4.6.6.1 | Intervention programmes | 100 |
| 4.6.6.2 | Parents | 101 |
| 4.7 | CONCLUSION | 105 |
| | CHAPTER 5 | 106 |
| 5.1 | INTRODUCTION | 106 |
| 5.2 | RESEARCH FINDINGS | 107 |
| 5.3 | PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES AND NARRATIVES OF THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF BINGE DRINKING | 107 |
| 5.3.1 | Details of where and how binge drinking takes place | 107 |
| 5.3.2 | Gaining access to alcohol | 107 |
| 5.3.3 | Binge drinking starting age | 108 |
| 5.4 | PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF THE REASONS GIVEN FOR ENGAGING IN BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR. | 108 |
| 5.4.1 | Adolescence as a phase of life | 108 |
| 5.4.2 | Peer pressure | 109 |
| 5.4.3 | Emotional hardships | 110 |
| 5.5 | PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF PARENTAL ENABLING | 111 |
| 5.5.1 | Parental monitoring | 111 |
| 5.5.2 | Examples by parents | 112 |
| 5.5.3 | Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents | 112 |
| 5.6 | PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF CONSEQUENCE | 113 |
| 5.6.1 | Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity and physical effects of consuming alcohol | 113 |
| 5.7 | PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF PERFORMATIVE MASCULINITIES AND FEMININITIES | 114 |
| 5.7.1 | Difference between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour | 114 |
| 5.7.2 | Different effects of binge drinking on the behaviour of girls and boys | 115 |

| | | |
|-------------|--|------------|
| 5.8 | PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR AMONG ADOLESCENTS | 116 |
| 5.8.1 | Intervention programmes | 116 |
| 5.8.2 | Role of parents | 116 |
| 5.9 | SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS | 117 |
| 5.10 | CONCLUDING REMARKS | 119 |
| 5.11 | LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY | 120 |
| 5.12 | FURTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR RESEARCH | 120 |
| 5.13 | RECOMMENDATIONS | 121 |
| 5.14 | CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS | 121 |
| 6. | REFERENCES | 123 |

LIST OF APPENDICES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Appendix A – Ethics Committee permission | 140 |
| Appendix B – Permission Letter from Western Cape Education Department | 141 |
| Appendix C – Permission Letter from school | 142 |
| Appendix D – Participant’s consent form for essays and focus group | 143 |
| Appendix E – Example of identified themes in essays | 148 |
| Appendix F – Original Afrikaans extracts | 149 |
| Appendix G – Extract from my reflective journal | 168 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 2.1 – Risk Factors for Substance Use | 21 |
| Table 4.1 –Summary of Essays’ Themes and Categories | 54 |
| Table 4.2 – Differences and Similarities between Boys’ and Girls’ Essay Content | 75 |
| Table 4.3 – Summary of Themes and Categories – Girls’ Focus Group | 76 |
| Table 4.4 – Summary of Themes and Categories – Boys’ Focus Group | 87 |
| Table 4.5 – Differences and Similarities between Boys’ and Girls’ Focus Group Content | 102 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 2.1 – Three factor model of alcohol-related cognitions | 17 |
| Figure 4.1 – Seating arrangement in girls’ focus group | 77 |
| Figure 4.2 – Seating arrangement in boys’ focus group | 88 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAC – Blood Alcohol Concentration

FET – Further Education and Training

GET – General Education and Training

NIAA – National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism

TRA – Theory of Reasoned Action

TPB – Theory of Planned Behaviour

WCED – Western Cape Education Department

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Many people consume alcohol worldwide. A survey on risk behaviour stated that over two billion people drink alcohol worldwide and seventy-six million people have alcohol-related disorders. The use and misuse of alcohol can cause serious long-term health problems such as liver cirrhosis and cancer.

Alcohol is one of South Africa's biggest health problems and can be seen as the drug most commonly used in South Africa (Medical Research Council, 2010). According to Alcohol Statistics (2009), South Africa has one of the highest per capita alcohol consumption rates in the world. Acute alcohol intoxication has many harmful effects, such as chronic health problems, crime, interpersonal and domestic violence, school truancy, increased mortality, unsafe sexual practices, poor nutritional status and fetal alcohol syndrome (Seggie, 2012). Morojele, Nkosi, Kekwaletswe, Saban and Parry (2013) found that adolescents who consume alcohol are more likely to engage in sex, experience their first sexual encounter when they are still young and have multiple sex partners, rather than those who abstain from alcohol. Engaging in binge drinking behaviour increases adolescents' vulnerability to HIV infection and unsafe sexual practices (Morojele, Nkosi, et al., 2013).

The 2nd South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey concludes that a third of the learners who took part in the survey consumed alcohol (Medical Research Council, 2010). The survey also found that between 46% and 53, 2% of learners nationally drink one or more drinks – with the number of males being much higher than females. In addition, the Western Cape has significantly higher numbers of learners who drink and engage in binge drinking episodes when compared to the other provinces. The South Africa Demographic and Health Survey of 2003 reported that 31,9% of males between the ages of 15-29 and 17,2% of females in that age group had consumed alcohol (Morojele, Parry, Brook, & Kekwaletswe, 2012). According to Morojele, et al. (2012), in males aged 15-29 years, 3.5% of deaths can be linked to alcohol consumption and illicit drug use, while 0.6% of deaths in females can be accounted for by alcohol and drug use.

Adolescence is a phase when young people try to shape and express their independence and may involve engaging in risky behaviours such as heavy drinking. Austin (2010) states that

heavy drinking may interfere with class attendance and learning. Adolescents also increase their risk of fatal accidents and the risk of injuries when they are under the influence of alcohol. Engaging in binge drinking behaviour increases the risk of crime and violence, scholastic problems, mental and physical health problems (Morojele, et al., 2012).

Binge drinking refers to as drinking more than five drinks within a few hours (Medical Research Council, 2010). Very few studies have been done to explore the views of adolescents on binge drinking behaviour. In examining the findings of the 2nd South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey of 2008, it is evident that prevention programmes are urgently needed to address the issue of alcohol consumption among the youth of South Africa (Medical Research Council, 2010). The findings emphasize that a comprehensive prevention and treatment programme needs to be instantly developed. Such a programme requires legislative, educative and economic components, as well as interventions, which are compulsory and target the learners, educators, families and communities (Medical Research Council, 2010).

I was a teacher at a middle to high-income school in the Northern suburbs in Cape Town and have repeatedly observed male adolescents talking and bragging about binge drinking episodes. Although males tend to engage in binge drinking episodes more than females (Morojele, et al., 2012), the nature of male and female alcohol consumption patterns and views on alcohol consumption both contributed to the study. This approach is supported by Grinnell, Williams and Unrau's (2010) statement that "you begin the...research process...from your observation..." (p. 104). According to the 2nd South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey of 2008, significantly more male learners engaged in binge drinking episodes (Medical Research Council, 2010).

The rationale for the proposed study was that if views on binge drinking in adolescence are clear, appropriate and targeted, prevention and intervention programmes can be developed. These programmes would address binge drinking behaviour in schools to create an awareness of the implications of binge drinking, as well as addressing the reasons why adolescents may engage in binge drinking behaviour.

1.1.1 Nature and Context of Study

The proposed framework, illustrated by Merriam (2009), identifies the topic on which the researcher wishes to conduct research. The problem statement, within this framework, thus refers to what is already known about the proposed topic, what aspects the researcher will be

focusing on and why it is important to gain knowledge about the specific topic (Merriam, 2009).

Binge drinking refers to consuming a lot of alcohol within a specific period. Learners often engage in binge drinking which is, for males, having more than five drinks per sitting and, in the case of females, having more than three drinks per sitting (Young, Morales, McCabe, Boyd, & D'Arcy, 2005).

In South Africa there is certain legislation and legal implications surrounding the consumption and purchase of alcohol. Due to the limited scope of this study, I will fleetingly refer to the legislation on consuming alcohol in South Africa. The legislation states that a person should be older than 18 years though, when a religious sacrament takes place, the minor's parents/guardians or the person who is administering the religious sacrament may supply alcohol to the minor in moderate quantities and under supervision (Liquor Act, 2003).

Adolescents have various reasons for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. According to Seggie (2012), surveys have indicated that alcohol use among adolescents is common. Some of the reasons for binge drinking behaviour may include the desire to fit in with a peer group, socio-economic circumstances such as poor environments, boredom, experimentation, ignorance of alcohol's harms, and easy access to relatively cheap alcoholic products, especially in South Africa with its many shebeens and unlicensed outlets. Seggie (2012), states that high youth unemployment rates are contributing factors.

Other motivations for adolescents engaging in binge drinking behaviour include that it is fun, they feel more sociable when engaging in binge drinking, they feel happy and relaxed, and they forget about their problems when consuming a large amount of alcohol (Stolle, Sack, & Thomasius, 2009).

Research conducted on Grade 11 learners' perceptions of programmes related to alcohol use prevention suggested that adolescents feel there is a need for increased information and education about alcohol use at high school level. Adolescents who stated that their school environment entailed fairness and caring, and was capable of engaging them socially, were more likely to report less health risk behaviour such as engaging in drinking and smoking (Ilona, Raili & Lasse, 2012). Ilona, et al. (2012) reported that adolescents who were satisfied with their schooling were less likely to feel depressed. A study conducted by McNeely and

Falci (2004) has shown that unduly high expectations from parents and teachers seemed to be directly related to engaging in risk behaviour such as drinking and smoking.

When adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour, it has many consequences: it not only influences academic performance, but may also have serious ramifications when adolescents engage in risky behaviour. Frequent substance use in adolescence, such as engaging in drinking behaviour, strongly correlates with use of harmful substances in adulthood (Bonell, et al., 2010).

Numerous theories have been used to describe underage drinking. The problem behaviour theory (Jessor & Jessor, 1977) states that underage drinking is motivated by influences such as personality, perceived environments and behaviour. Viewing underage drinking from this viewpoint, adolescents may engage in drinking behaviour due to risk factors such as decreased salience of parents and increased salience of peer behaviour, transition from adolescence to adulthood and emphasis on drinking as a social event linked to having fun (Kenny, Hummer, & LaBrie, 2010). The authors of this study suggest that future qualitative studies may indicate the extent to which socially learned peer group behaviour or sensation-seeking personality styles may contribute to engaging in binge drinking behaviour (Kenny, et al., 2010).

According to Marcoux and Shope (1997), a model of substance use behaviour could be beneficial in predicting, understanding and explaining those factors involved in alcohol use and misuse. The authors found that Ajzen's Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) as well as his Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) could both be valuable in predicting, understanding and explaining adolescents' alcohol use (Marcoux, & Shope, 1997). The model of behavioural intentions was based on Ajzen's TRA (Marcoux, & Shope, 1997). Literature in the 1980s found that predictors of adolescent alcohol use include attitudes toward alcohol use, the intention to use alcohol and normative influences (Marcoux, & Shope, 1997). Intention, norms and attitude form part of Ajzen's TRA. The difference between the two models of TRA and TPB is that TPB comprises the concept of perceived control (Marcoux, & Shope, 1997). According to research by Marcoux and Shope (1997), the TPB model is an effective theory in predicting and explaining alcohol use among adolescents.

It is evident that binge drinking among female and male adolescents is of great concern nationally. There are certain risk factors for substance abuse in South Africa (Morojele, et al., 2012). The first group of risk factors are societal, which includes the demographic and economic shifts in society, culture and social inequality, as well as socio-economic

disadvantages (Morojele, et al., 2012). The second category involves community risk factors which comprise access to substances in the community, society's norms on alcohol use (this includes advertisements and the mass media) and the risk of being exposed to public drunkenness, as well as the influence that adult consumers of alcohol may have on how adolescents view alcohol use (Morojele, et al., 2012). Other risk factors include the school and academic environment. Many adolescents' low academic aspirations may be a risk factor for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Familial involvement, friends and individual factors, such as parental modelling of binge drinking, insufficient monitoring by parents, peers' use of substances, short-term life goals, lack of engagement in religious activities, low self-esteem and depressive symptoms, may all be risk factors for adolescents engaging in binge drinking behaviour (Morojele, et al., 2012).

The purpose of this narrative study is to understand and explore the nature and context of adolescent binge drinking behaviour among adolescents in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. There is little available current research that explores the meanings that adolescents attach to binge drinking behaviour in middle class school contexts. For this reason, this specific study was conducted in the context of Life Orientation classes. It aims to contribute to the mainly unexplored field of research about the meanings of adolescents' binge drinking behaviour.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- What are adolescents' narratives on binge drinking behaviour?
- What are the dynamics and practices involved in adolescent binge drinking behaviour?
- What is the nature of male and female binge drinking behaviour? Do they differ or coincide?
- What are adolescents' views of interventions that target binge drinking behaviour?

1.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research design comprises the research problem, the purpose of the study and the research questions (Creswell, 2007). A paradigm refers to the "fundamental frame of references" (Babbie, 2001, p. 32), and the current study is conducted as a qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research attempts to study human behaviour and actions from the insider's (the participant's) perspective. The focus of qualitative research is on making meaning and providing

understanding. It is also an inductive process, searching for rich descriptions where the researcher is the primary instrument (Merriam, 2009). It focuses on the understanding of, rather than the explanation of, aspects of different phenomena. Researchers using a qualitative paradigm are interested in understanding how people make meaning of their experiences, interpret what they are going through and how they are constructing the world around them (Merriam, 2009). A qualitative paradigm, using an interpretive approach, was seen as most suited to the current research, where the aim was to explore meanings attached to adolescent binge drinking behaviour.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study was conducted using a social constructivist paradigm, a paradigm in which qualitative inquiry is applied to a worldview by which the individual seeks understanding and meaning about the world in which he/she lives (Creswell, 2007). This particular interpretive way of thinking was used and the data collected using narrative interviewing as an approach to qualitative inquiry. The procedure of narrative research includes a focus on individuals, gathering data through the collection of their stories and analysing the meaning of these stories (Creswell, 2007; Holstein & Gubrium, 2012). Narrative stories in the form of essays written by the participants, as well as interviews from focus groups were also used as data for the study.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

The narrative approach to qualitative research is “the oldest and most natural form of sense making” (Jonassen & Hernandez-Serrano, 2002, p. 66). Through this type of qualitative research, the researcher can gather data through stories and first-person accounts of experiences (Merriam, 2009). Merriam (2009) states that personal documents refer to first- person narratives, which can be letters, videos, autobiographies or travelogues. This type of document can be a valuable source of data because it will throw light on a person’s attitudes, beliefs, his/her view of himself/herself and the world (Merriam, 2009). Personal narratives also provide insight into subjective experiences in the context of broader social and structural contexts. The data, therefore, even though very personal, helps us to understand the effects of structural pressures on human behaviour, providing insight into the meanings that adolescents attach to binge drinking behaviour.

1.4.1 Population and Sampling

Babbie (2013) refers to the “group (usually of people) about whom we want to draw conclusions” as the population (p. 115). For the purpose of this study, the population were all male and female adolescents (16 – 17 years old), enrolled at a specific school in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. Gaining access is an important issue in the process of sampling in order to obtain credible data (Maree, 2012, p. 85). I was the Grade 8-12 Life Orientation teacher at the school so I knew the learners well and had easy access to both the school and the learners. I conducted my research in the context of my classrooms, as part of the Life Orientation syllabus. I asked permission from the principal and the WCED to conduct research in these classes.

The sampling frame in this study consisted of all the 16 to 17-year-old Grade 11 learners at the high school where the research was conducted. The whole sampling frame was included in the study during the first phase. During the second phase of the study the convenience sample for the focus group was drawn from the sampling frame of the Grade 11 learners who participated in phase one of the study. In both phases of the study participants had to indicate that they were willing to participate. In phase one all the learners were involved in the class exercise but they had the right to choose whether their essays were used as research data. In phase two, a group of 8-10 learners was selected from those who had volunteered to participate in a focus group. Learners in the focus group were selected based on their having an interesting story that might highlight the dynamics, occurrence, nature or interventions regarding binge drinking. The participants were able to make an informed decision and consent forms were available for those who indicated they wanted to take part in the study. By using this methodology, it was possible to achieve the aims of gaining understanding and insight as to why adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour and the different narratives of female and male adolescents.

1.4.2 Procedure

The data was gathered through collecting documents in the form of narrative essays and two focus groups. The Grade 11 learners were asked to write an essay as part of their curriculum during Life Orientation classes. The title of the essay was “A story about adolescent binge drinking behaviour”. The instruction was “Write a story about binge drinking that you have heard (please do not write about personal experiences)”. The essays written by learners, who agreed that their writing could be used for research, formed the documents used by the researcher to analyse data. They had to indicate on the consent form whether they were willing

to participate further by attending a focus group. The researcher conducted a focus group interview with some of those who indicated that they were willing to participate in the focus group. Learners in the focus group were selected on the basis of their having an interesting story that might highlight the dynamics, occurrence, nature or interventions around binge drinking. The data gathering took place during the second and third term of the school year in 2015.

1.4.3 Quality assurance

Quality assurance is a very important part of a research project. Issues of credibility, confirmability, transferability, dependability and authenticity are used to indicate trustworthiness in a qualitative study (Maree, 2012). To ensure that the research is reliable and valid, it should be conducted in an ethical manner (Merriam, 2009).

Maree (2012) argues that for a study to be trustworthy it should contain truth, value or credibility in respect of internal validity; applicability or transferability in respect of external validity; consistency or dependability in respect of reliability; and neutrality or confirmability in respect of objectivity (p. 140). Strategies to ensure dependability included the researcher monitoring the process of data gathering by being present when learners wrote their essays.

Maree (2012) furthermore refers to the confirmability of the objectivity of the data gathered and the minimization of research mistakes. Merriam (2009) states that, although the qualitative researcher can never apprehend the absolute truth, the researcher should try to increase credibility and internal validity through the process of triangulation (p. 215) and use of multiple data gathering methods. Triangulation refers to obtaining a more in-depth, rich understanding through using different methods, which will also increase the reliability and validity of the study. In this study, the consistency of stories from the focus group was compared and contrasted with the narratives emerging from the essays.

1.4.4 Data analysis

The process of data analysis is to come to conclusions from the data gathered (Merriam, 2009, p. 175). The data analysis process will entail construction by category or theme; the sorting of categories and data; naming of the categories; and evolving into a more theoretical process (Merriam, 2009). Narrative analysis, using analytical methods, was used to analyse the data in this study, which included thematic, structural, dialogic performance and visual methods

(Merriam, 2009). I used these methods to analyse the data through thematic and conceptual analysis. Chapter 3 was used to describe the research process in more depth.

1.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A study conducted with human participants must gain ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University. When conducting research with learners in a Western Cape Educational Departmental school it was also necessary to obtain consent from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), as well as from the principal of the school. The study made use of gathered data through written documents and interviews in a focus group of learners younger than eighteen years old. In addition to these consent processes, consent was sought from the parents before the adolescents took part in the study. The adolescents were also asked to confirm their voluntarily participation in the study and to volunteer for the focus group.

During Phase 1 of the study, learners choosing a pseudonym for their essays ensured anonymity. During Phase II, I asked the participants to choose a different pseudonym, so that the stories in phase one remained anonymous and there was no way of connecting the responses of participants in phase two to the responses of participants in Phase 1. This was particularly important because I was the Life Orientation teacher at the specific school and my role as a teacher might have influenced the research if it were less anonymous. On the other hand, my role as a teacher also gave me access to deep, rich data in ways that an unknown researcher might not have accessed.

I attempted to minimize the risk of harm to the adolescents by asking them to talk about stories that they had heard, preventing them from explicitly talking about personal experiences. I did not anticipate that that would result in any major emotional trauma for learners. However, the necessary arrangements were made with the principal, and the resident school psychologist was available to learners who needed to consult with the psychologist if necessary.

Participants had the right to withdraw from the study at any time if they wished to do so. To protect the identity of the participants and to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms were used in the research process.

1.6 DEFINING KEY CONCEPTS

The definition of key concepts is an important part of the research process, as many of the concepts are open to ambiguous interpretations. The core concepts are defined in the section below. Further concepts will be defined in Chapter 2.

1.6.1 Binge drinking

Young, et al. (2005) define binge drinking as four alcoholic beverages at a sitting for women and five for men. Frequent binge drinking entails engaging in three or more binge drinking episodes within two weeks. For the purpose of this study, the above-mentioned definitions of binge drinking were used.

1.6.2 Adolescents

According to Shaffer, Kipp, Wood and Willoughby (2013), adolescence refers to the chronological developmental phase of children between twelve and twenty years old. At this point the individual may start working and is becoming less dependent on parents (Shaffer, et al., 2013). For the purpose of this study, adolescence refers to learners who are at secondary school, between the ages of 13 and 19.

1.6.3 Secondary school

In South Africa, the secondary school phase consists of General Education and Training (GET) and Further Education and Training (FET) (Department of Basic Education, 2012). Learners at secondary schools will usually be between thirteen and nineteen years of age. This FET band consists of Grades 8 to 12 (Department of Basic Education, 2010).

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The study is presented in the following way:

Chapter 1 introduces the study, the background and the rationale for conducting the research. The problem statement is discussed, as well as the research questions, and the aims of the research. This chapter also includes research design and methodology. Basic concepts and ethical considerations also make up part of this chapter.

Chapter 2 provides an in-depth and thorough review of the existing literature on the binge drinking of adolescents and how adolescents interpret binge drinking behaviour. A specific theoretical framework was used to structure the literature review.

Chapter 3 describes the paradigm from which the researcher conducted the research, the methodology used, as well as the methods used to gather data and analyse it.

Chapter 4 entails the presentation and discussion of the research findings, as well as the distinctions between the different themes and categories emerging from the data analysis.

Chapter 5 includes the recommendations by the participants and the researcher's final conclusions and reflections. The limitations of the study and recommendations for future research are also discussed in this chapter.

1.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to provide a background and rationale for this study. The purpose of the study, the research aims and questions as well as the methodology were introduced through outlining the theoretical framework. In addition, this chapter provided brief discussions on the basic concepts and some ethical considerations. The following chapter will include the theoretical framework and a detailed literature review.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is my intention to provide a comprehensive picture of what is represented in the existing literature on binge drinking among adolescents. This includes a literature review on binge drinking, in which the consequences and possible reasons for binge drinking among adolescents are presented. The literature review also focuses on substance abuse, adolescent alcohol consumption, the differences between male and female alcohol consumption, and possible intervention and prevention programs through a social constructivist lens, this being the meta-theoretical framework for the study. In this study, I use numerous theories to explore adolescents' engagement in binge drinking behaviour. The theories include the social ecological perspective, dual systems theory and alcohol expectancy theory. This review takes into account both national and international research on adolescent binge drinking behaviour.

The late revolutionary, Nelson Mandela, emphasized that a country should invest in its young people so that they can play a key role in resolving problems, rather than becoming part of the difficulties such as substance abuse. "Young people are often enticed by drug lords to become pedlars and consumers of illegal substances. We must help empower them to become part of the solution instead of the problem" (Nelson Mandela, cited in Department of Health, 1999, p. 1).

When a country such as South Africa experiences intense socio-economic ups and downs, the result may show itself in alcohol and drug consumption (Rocha-Silva, 1998; Simon, 1998). South Africa has just celebrated twenty years of democracy, but the country is still undergoing changes, and problems around substance abuse are still developing and escalating during this transition (Pluddemann, et al., 2004; Richter, et al., 2006). Inequality relating to poor access to social services, poverty, and low income are widespread in South Africa (Ataguba, Akazili, & McIntyre, 2011). Socio-economic inequality has given rise to multiple psychosocial problems such as poverty, high levels of violence and unemployment. Ataguba, et al. (2011) note that there is a persistent destructive relationship between levels of socioeconomic status and psychological problems.

2.2 ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is a significant time during a person's life, often but not always characterised by being impulsive and wanting to experience many different things. There are many transitions occurring during the period of adolescence. One of these transitions includes preferring to spend more time with peers than with family and parents (Brown, 1990; Brown & Larson, 2009). Therefore, peers tend to have a greater influence on a person's behaviour and development.

Nixon and McClain (2010) suggest that adolescents who engage in binge drinking behaviour increase the likelihood of developing an alcohol disorder later in their lives. Peers play an important role during adolescence. The presence of friends may contribute to risk-taking behaviour on the part of adolescents (Chein, Albert, O'Brien, Uckert, & Steinberg, 2011; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005). Different theories about adolescents' risk-taking behaviour give different explanations of why adolescents engage in binge drinking. Theories include the socio-ecological perspective, social learning, social control and dual system theories, as well as the alcohol expectancy theory. These theories will be reviewed in the following section.

The socio-ecological perspective includes Bronfenbrenner's (1977) bio-ecological theory, which is based on human development and how systems interact and influence each other. Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory suggests that developing adolescents should not be seen as isolated from social systems and other different contexts. The first three systems in Bronfenbrenner's theory are applicable to adolescent binge drinking, due to the social context of these systems. They include micro-, meso-, and exosystems (Ennett, et al., 2008). The microsystem refers to the immediate social environments within which the adolescent develops and interacts. This includes the family, peers and school contexts (Swart & Pettipher, 2005). The mesosystems consist of interrelating microsystems and the exosystems refer to more remote social environments such as communities in which the microsystems interact (Ennett et al., 2008). This theory can be used, along with the next few theories, to explain adolescent drinking behaviour.

Social learning theory stresses contact with role-models who engage in drinking behaviour or who misuse alcohol (Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979; Bandura, 1977; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995). According to Ennett et al. (2008), social learning theory suggests that adolescents misuse alcohol due to learned behaviour through social interactions and due to adolescents shaping their own definitions for drinking. This theory can also be used when describing adolescent binge drinking due to parental drinking behaviour. Findings from

one study suggest that certain practices in families are inculcated and passed on to family members and peers. Practices such as drinking can therefore be passed on by peers and family members who teach young people that it is acceptable to engage in drinking behaviour (Allan, Clifford, Ball, Alston, & Meister, 2012).

The third theory is the social control theory, explain adolescent drinking behaviour. This theory indicates that when the connection between society and the individual is reduced, a universal communal tendency toward defiance will surface and lead (Hirschi, 1969; Petraitis, et al., 1995). This defiance may then lead to adolescent alcohol misuse. The researchers suggest that the connections between society and the adolescent includes when parents are not monitoring children or high levels of conflict in families (Ennet, et al., 2009).

The fourth theory about adolescent alcohol use is from a cognitive perspective, explaining how risk-taking behaviour may lead to adolescent binge drinking. Cognitive psychology suggests two processes, deliberative and intuitive, which can be used to describe risk-taking behaviour. This theory suggests that risk-taking behaviour in adolescents results from two interacting systems in the brain (Steinberg, 2010).

Changes occur in socio-emotional systems during puberty, as well as the altering of neurochemistry such as oxytocin and dopamine, which increases reward salience and encourages sensation seeking, sexual interest, camaraderie with friends and a need for separation from the family (Steinberg, et al., 2008). In contrast with the above-mentioned system, the cognitive control system matures at a stable pace, from childhood into adulthood (Giedd, 2008; Steinberg, et al., 2008). This top-down controlling function is responsible for modulating emotions, limiting impulses and identifying possible harms (Asato, Terwilliger, Woo, & Luna, 2010; Giedd, 2008). This dual-system theory ascribes risk-taking behaviour in adolescence to the temporal pause between the activation of the socio-emotional systems at puberty and the maturation of cognitive control systems (Shulman & Cauffman, 2014). This pause is followed by a period when reward seeking is high and a person's self-control is low. This combination predisposes adolescents to risk-taking behaviour (Shulman & Cauffman, 2014).

Further theories used for researching alcohol and behaviour suggest differences between alcohol expectancy and drinking motives. According to Tolman (1959), the expectancy theory suggests a process whereby the individuals expect certain outcomes when engaging in specific behaviour. When adolescents experience and model certain behaviour, 'if-then' statements are

encoded, kept in memory and used to guide future behaviour, covertly as well as overtly (Goldman, Brown, Christiansen, & Smith 1991; Reich, Below & Goldman, 2010). Examples of these ‘if-then’ statements are, ‘If I drink, more boys will pay attention to me’ or ‘If I am drunk, my friends will find me funny’.

Wall, Thrussel, and Lalonde (2003) further explain the alcohol expectancy theory:

Within this theoretical framework, individuals’ expectations about the behavioural, affective, and cognitive effects of alcohol (alcohol outcome expectancies, or AOE) are considered to be critical determinants of differential consumption patterns. That is, as a result of indirect (i.e., modelling behaviours of parents and peers, alcohol use depicted in the media, etc.) and direct drinking experiences, individuals are thought to acquire specific AOE that proximally influence behavioural decision-making concerning the use of alcohol. (p. 1272)

Alcohol expectancies can be either positive or negative. Positive alcohol expectancies are present before drinking onset and predict early problem drinking. These positive expectancies are usually described as predictors of initial problem drinking decisions (Smith, Goldman, Greenbaum, & Christiansen, 1995), Negative alcohol expectancies often refer to punishment for drinking and include social, emotional, physical and cognitive outcomes. These negative expectancies predict reduced alcohol consumption (Leigh & Stacy, 2004).

Expectancies about alcohol use thus include positive and negative outcomes of drinking behaviour. However, motives for alcohol use depend on the reason why an individual chooses to engage in drinking behaviour (Bekman, et al., 2011). According to Bekman, et al. (2011), these reasons may include drinking as a coping mechanism, drinking to obtain social skills, drinking to become more loveable, etc. Cooper, Russell, Skinner, and Windle (1992) suggest that drinking motives play a key role as a primary cognitive factor in making drinking decisions. Viewing the alcohol expectancy theory through the lens of social constructivism relates it to adolescents who engage in binge drinking behaviour because of the meanings and realities, which have been socially constructed and shaped through their interactions with various role players and their social environments.

The following figure illustrates the three-factor model of alcohol-related cognitions of adolescent motives and expectancies for drinkers and non-drinkers (Bekman, et al., 2011).

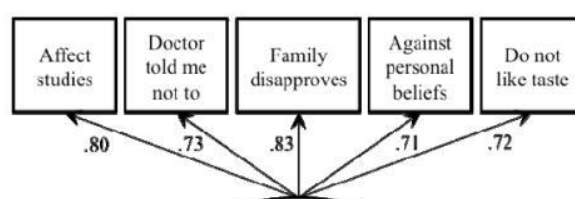


Figure 2.1 The tree-factor model of alcohol-related cognitions

Bekman, et al. (2011) found that adolescents with more drinking experience and those who use alcohol more than others have different views and motives than adolescents who drink less. These differences concern especially the important impact that decisions about whether to drink or not to drink play in an adolescent's life and impact on areas such as academic achievement, building and maintaining relationships, family and personal health.

When investigating the motives and expectancies of adolescents' binge drinking behaviour, it is important to keep the context and culture in mind. According to Bekman, et al. (2011), both motives and expectancies originate from a specific cultural context. These motives and expectancies of drinking function both overtly and covertly (Bekman, et al., 2011). An example of these expectancies is the Islamic religion, where consuming alcohol is actively discouraged. However, many national sporting bodies encourage drinking through sponsorships granted by the companies who market alcoholic drinks. These motives and expectancies provide a more comprehensive picture of how adolescents make decisions about drinking behaviour. Targeting these motives and expectancies could contribute to a decrease in binge drinking behaviour, and intervention programs should target specific motives and expectancies.

Different drinking patterns are noticeable when looking at adolescent alcohol consumption. Russell, Lewis, Matthijisse, and Mason (2011) conducted a narrative study on adolescent drinking behaviour and found that drinking patterns change with maturity, but not always in the same direction. These authors found that many adolescents drank less as they got older, while others stated that they increased the amount they drank as they got older (Russell, et al., 2011). Some participants in this study felt that they needed to set boundaries for their drinking while others did not feel the need for limits, and some even reported that they do not know how to control their drinking (Russell, et al., 2011). Some of the adolescents who took part in this study reported that having a relationship would inhibit their drinking behaviour and they would drink less or even stop drinking when they were in a relationship (Russell, et al., 2011). It is important to acknowledge, according to the meta-theoretical framework of social constructivism, that adolescents make sense of their realities through experiences and social interaction with others, and will base their reasons for engaging in binge drinking behaviour and risk-taking on making meaning and understanding socially constructed phenomena.

2.3 ALCOHOL ABUSE

The act of alcohol use among children younger than eighteen years can be viewed as abuse, as well as an illegal activity. Visser and Routledge (2007) give three reasons for this. During adolescence, a person is still growing and their nervous systems are very vulnerable to the negative effects of substances. According to Visser and Routledge (2007), the second reason is that the use of cigarettes and alcohol is prohibited for adolescents. In South Africa, legislation states that a person should be older than eighteen years to consume alcohol or to smoke cigarettes. However, to consume alcohol when a religious sacrament takes place, the minor's parents/guardians or the person who is administering the religious sacrament may supply alcohol to the minor, in moderate quantities and under supervision (Liquor Act, 2003). The third reason is that the use of alcohol by adolescents under the age of 18 years may lead to problems with the law, school drop-out, violence, truancy, delinquent behaviour, sexual risk behaviour and many other serious consequences (Newcomb & Bentler, 1989).

A study has indicated that the highest prevalence of alcohol use in Cape Town is by learners in Grade 11. A total of 36% males and 10% females reported engaging in binge drinking behaviour during the two weeks preceding the data gathering in this specific study (Flisher, Parry, Evans, Muller & Lombard, 2003). Adolescents gain access to alcohol in various ways. Alcohol is sometimes accessed from parents' alcohol supplies, older siblings may provide

adolescents with alcohol, as well as obtaining alcohol from friends at parties (Wagenaar, et al., 1993).

A survey conducted on substance abuse, risk behaviour and mental health among Grade 8 - 10 learners in Western Cape schools in 2011 stated that cannabis, alcohol and tobacco were the three most frequently used substances by adolescents between the ages of 13 and 17 (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013). This specific study found that alcohol was the most frequently used substance, and that 66% of the participants used alcohol, with almost 25% of participants having engaged in binge drinking behaviour in the two weeks preceding the study (Morojele, Myers et al., 2013). A total of 22.3% of these learners who reported alcohol use were engaging in binge drinking behaviour. There were significantly more males than females engaging in binge drinking, with 25.4% males and 19.8% females (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013).

The youth of the Western Cape drink alcohol in much higher quantities than the youth in other provinces (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013), causing more problems involving health and social issues.

The 2nd South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (Reddy, James, Sewpaul, Koopman, Funani, Sifunda, Josie, Masuka, Kambaran, & Omardien, 2010) highlights alcohol use as significant problems amongst white, coloured, indian and african black learners particularly in the Western Cape. This survey states that risk is spread across the population and across various race racial, gender, demographical and class categories. One often have rationalised assumptions about who is at risk in terms of youth at risk. These assumptions often remain inspite of national surveys like Reddy et al., (2010). This survey shows that nationally significantly more white and coloured learners have engaged in drinking behaviour. Considerably more grade 11 learners engaged in binge drinking in the past month when this survey was recorded (Reddy et al., 2010).

A gap in literature exists for studies about risks between gender, race, class and demographical categories. This smaller qualitative study highlights and resonates with statistical detail of larger studies such as Reddy et al., (2010). The sample used in this study is predominantly white grade 11 learners. Many people assume that students that go to a specific school are less at risk and would not be part of a high risk group. However, according to Reddy et al., (2010) the risks for alcohol abuse spread across race, demographical and gender categories.

2.3.1 Risk and protective factors of substance abuse

When reviewing the literature for this study it is important to note the difference between youth risk and youth at risk situations. The perception of youth risk behaviour includes a broader spectrum of individuals, whereas youth at risk perception focuses on those disadvantaged and living in townships. The current approach in existing literature focuses on youth at risk behaviour. However, it is also worth looking at youth risk behaviour in the context of a middle class, predominantly white community, as these communities are much under-represented in South African research, in spite of the fact that youth risk behaviours are common there as well. Youth risk behaviour refers to behaviour that may involve risks and occur in any environment, not only areas and youth from marginalised areas or poor backgrounds. Other indicators of youth risk behaviour include sexual behaviour, hygiene, suicide, and chronic diseases such as asthma and diabetes. Youth risk behaviour takes both protective and risk factors into account. According to the Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (2008), behaviour that places adolescents at risk includes behaviours related to infectious diseases, injury and trauma, mental health and chronic diseases.

Different definitions of risk and protective factors are available in the literature. Burt (2001) defines risk factors as “an exposure which is statistically related in some way to an outcome” (p. 1007).

According to Morojele, et al. (2012) protective factors can be defined in two ways. Protective factors can be seen as being the opposite of risk factors (Morojele, et al., 2012). Another conceptualisation of protective factors is that they constrain the harmful outcomes of those who are at risk, as well as mediating the effects of exposure to risks (Morojele, et al., 2012).

Various risk factors can be linked to substance abuse among South African adolescents. Morojele, et al. (2012) suggest that these risk factors occur in different domains of an adolescent’s life. The authors suggest the following as different examples of possible risk factors under each domain (Morojele, et al., 2012, p. 199):

Table 2.1

Risk Factors for Substance Use

| Domains of Risk Factors | Risk Factors |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Societal factors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture • Demographic and economic shifts • Social inequality and socio-economic disadvantages |
| Community factors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to alcohol • Societal norms for alcohol use (for example in the media) • Exposure to public drunkenness • Personal knowledge of adult consumers of alcohol or subjective adult norms in favour of using alcohol |
| School and academic achievement | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permissive drinking norms • Availability of alcohol in school proximity • Low academic aspirations and sub-optimal performance at school |
| Familial environment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent or caregiver consuming alcohol • Insufficient time spent with adolescent • Little monitoring • Lack of nurturing in the home environment |
| Peers and friends | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peers' substance use • Peers' engagement in antisocial behaviour |
| Individual factors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engagement in rebellious and antisocial behaviour • Low religious involvement • Short term goals in life • Depressive symptoms and poor sense of well-being • Self-esteem |

Other research agrees with Morojele, et al. (2012), in identifying and explaining risk factors for adolescent alcohol use. Social influences, coping skills and socio-economic circumstances are some of these risk factors. Individual-difference factors that relate to risk for anxiety, antisocial behaviour or depression can be identified as significant factors for adolescents' tendency to engage in risky alcohol consuming behaviour, such as binge drinking episodes

(Grant, Stinson, & Harford, 2001). According to Grant, et al. (2001), alcohol dependency can be related to the tendency to take part in externalizing antisocial behaviour. These externalizing as well as internalizing behavioural tendencies and personality qualities have shown to strongly predict risk for development of alcohol dependence.

According to Pluddemann, et al. (2010), alcohol is still one of the most common substances abused among patients who receive treatment at centres. The study by these authors found that alcohol accounted for 30% of admissions into treatment centres in the Western Cape. The patients admitted were likely to be male, and 30% of the patients admitted for alcohol as a primary substance of abuse in the Western Cape were female (Pluddemann, et al., 2010).

It is evident that there are many risk factors that precede binge drinking behaviour and substance use among adolescents. However, reinforcing, positive factors should also be identified and enhanced in order to act as protective factors for adolescent binge drinking behaviour. According to Lee (2012), the literature proposes that the positive factors may have compensatory impacts on substance-use risk factors.

Lee (2012) suggests that risk and protective factors for adolescent substance use spring from various areas of social ecology, such as an individual level, relational levels, school, societal and community levels. Community level risk factors for substance use include exposure to violence (McCart, et al., 2007; Vermeiren, Schwab-Stone, Deboutte, Leckman, & Ruchkin, 2003; Zinzow, et al., 2009). Protective factors for adolescent substance abuse include family and parental factors (Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Diaz & Miller, 2000; Vakalahi, 2001). These factors interact with each other, and it is important to understand these interactions, especially for vulnerable youth (Lee, 2012).

Research by Dunn, Kitts, Lewis, Goodrow, and Scherzer (2011) suggests that with the increase of risk factors in an adolescents' life, the likelihood of engaging in risky behaviour, such as binge drinking, is more likely. Motives for controlled drinking can be seen as different from engagement in binge drinking. According to Siviroj (2012), motives for drinking can be explained as occurring in different domains. These include drinking for one's own pleasure, for a social boost, to handle pressure, to cope with difficult situations and to deal with stress (Comasco, Berglund, Orelund, & Nilsson, 2010; Perera & Torabi, 2009). Among these domains, there are various inter-related aspects. The domain of one's own pleasure as a motive for engaging in binge drinking behaviour was found to be linked with heavy drinking, whereas social motives can be related to lighter drinking patterns (Engels, Wiers, Lemmers & Overbeek,

2005; Kuntsche, Knibbe, Engels, & Gmel, 2007). Private drinking, as well as problem drinking, can be associated with attempts to decrease stress and anxiety (Beseler, Aharonovich, Keyes, & Hasin, 2008; Engels, et al., 2005; Perera & Torabi, 2009).

The language used to describe risk behaviour, as well as encourage and promote healthy behaviour, needs to be applicable to adolescents. According to Russell, et al. (2011) adolescents, refer to either “bad” or “good” drinking. Good drinking refers to engaging in drinking behaviour that occurs at special events. Good drinking behaviour also includes knowing your limits and responsible drinking (Russell, et al., 2011). Bad drinking has a negative influence on friendships, leads to being violent or causes engagement in risky sexual behaviour, which in some cases may lead to unintended and unwanted pregnancies (Russell, et al., 2011).

Alcohol use can lead to adolescents engaging in risk behaviour. According to Morojele, Nkosi, et al. (2013), many studies found noteworthy positive relations between sexual risk behaviour, HIV infection and alcohol consumption. These authors state that when adolescents consume alcohol they increase the likelihood of engaging in sex, having their first sexual encounter and/or having sex with multiple partners, at a younger age (Morojele, Nkosi, et al., 2013). Risk behaviours such as alcohol consumption and early engagement in sexual behaviour can have catastrophic consequences for adolescents, such as teen pregnancies, contracting HIV, motor vehicle accidents, economic / social and familial problems, crime, violence and even death (Aspy, et al., 2012; Morojele, et al., 2012). The results of this study are consistent with findings from Page and Hall (2009), suggesting that sexual behaviours in adolescents are associated with alcohol consumption.

Further research found that alcohol consumption increases sexual confidence and that adolescents struggle to directly link intoxication with risky sexual behaviour (Bell 2009; Redgrave & Limmer, 2005). The researchers also suggest that the likelihood of engaging in sexual behaviour increases when the frequency of alcohol consumption increases (Page & Hall, 2009).

Abusing alcohol is a substantial feature in adolescents’ encounters with legal problems (Russell, et al., 2011). When alcohol is misused, it may have serious consequences for the abusers and those around them. Morojele, et al., (2012) state that adolescents increase their risk of being injured and even the risk of death, when abusing alcohol and other substances. Other injuries related to substance abuse among young people include traffic accidents, drowning,

poisoning, burns and falls, as well as violence, suicide, child abuse, neglect and sexual violence (Morojele, et al., 2012).

According to Morojele, et al., (2012), alcohol abuse among young people is an immense concern globally, as well as in South Africa, and is often the gateway to other illegal drugs such as cannabis among adolescents (Morojele, et al., 2012). Morojele, et al., (2012) highlight that a national survey among high school learners in 2008 found that 50% of learners who took part in the survey had had alcohol and 29% had engaged in a binge drinking incident during the preceding month.

In South Africa, the rate of adolescents' entry into treatment centres for substance abuse has increased (Morojele, et al., 2012). According to these authors, a high number of adolescents are treated for alcohol abuse in many parts of South Africa. According to a study on the reasons for adolescent arrests by Parry, Pluddemann, Louw and Legget (2004), many adolescents involved in criminal actions appeared to be involved in substance abuse.

Many factors related to alcohol use among adolescents can have a negative influence on the learning and teaching environment in schools. Violence could be an outcome and a predisposing factor to adolescents' alcohol use. School violence, including bullying, can both be increased by alcohol abuse (Morojele, et al., 2012). Bullying as the consequence of actions and as the perpetrating factor can often be related to alcohol use among adolescents in schools (Morojele et al., 2012). According to these authors, other school studies found that alcohol use was also related to being a victim of sexual assault and abuse (Betancourt & Herrera, 2006; King, et al., 2004; Peltzer & Pengpid, 2008). Findings from a survey on substance abuse in the Western Cape in 2011 suggest that 25, 3% of learners reported that they had had sex after they had consumed large amounts of alcohol (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013). The findings also reported a significantly higher number of males than females engaging in this behaviour (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013).

2.4 DEFINING BINGE DRINKING

Binge drinking is differently defined by various sources. According to Baker (cited in Murugiah, 2012) binge drinking was originally documented in the *Glossary of*

Northamptonshire Words and Phrases as “a man goes to the alehouse to get a good binge, or binge himself” (p. 27).

Pedersen and Von Soest (2013) suggest that the definition of binge drinking includes two aspects. The first aspect refers to drinking that leads to drunkenness (Pedersen & Von Soest, 2013). According to Pedersen and Von Soest (2013), the second aspect defines binge drinking behaviour as drinking that occurs over time and is often related to clinical alcohol dependence and or abuse.

Other definitions of binge drinking include drinking as having two different patterns (Murugiah, 2012). The first pattern refers to heavy drinking over an extended period. During this period, a person engages in consuming alcohol for many days and is often out of control (Murugiah, 2012). The second pattern consists of consuming a large number of drinks in a single session (Berridge, Thom & Herring, 2007; Berridge, Herring & Thom 2009).

Binge drinking can be difficult to measure. Research suggests that different amounts of drinks in a single session might be defined as a binge drinking episode. According to Murugiah (2012) binge drinking can be defined as the consumption of five drinks or more in a single sitting for men, and four drinks per sitting for women, in the United States of America. Eight drinks for men and six or more for females are defined as binge drinking in the United Kingdom (Measham & Brain, 2005) Olthuis, Zamboanga, Ham, and Van Tyne (2011) concur with the previous research that binge drinking can be referred to as consuming a minimum of five drinks per sitting for men and four for women. According to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA), binge drinking can be defined as “a pattern of drinking that brings blood alcohol concentration (BAC) to 0.08 grams percent or above” (Olthuis, et al., 2011). The NIAAA has determined that a sitting at which binge drinking normally takes place correlates to an estimated two hours of consecutive alcohol consumption.

Differences in the definition for binge drinking for women and men occur. According to Olthuis, et al. (2011), the differences can be accounted for by the different alcohol metabolisms in men and women. Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport, and Rimm (1995) state that women who drink four drinks in two hours exhibit the same alcohol-related problems as men who drink five drinks in one sitting.

For the purpose of this study the definition of binge drinking that will be used refers to engaging in drinking behaviour and consuming five or more drinks within two hours for males and four for females.

2.5 REASONS FOR ADOLESCENT BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR

Research suggests that there are many reasons why adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour. A study by Russell, et al. (2011) reveals narratives on why adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour. Some of the themes include the dangers of alcohol use and staying safe; why and why not to engage in binge drinking behaviour; justifying the behaviour when under the influence of alcohol; drinking patterns and the limits of engaging in binge drinking behaviour, as well as the influence of and the role that their parents or caretakers play.

Narrative findings from this study suggest that adolescents are not concerned about the effects of alcohol consumption on their health because it is not immediately obvious and recognisable (Russell, et al., 2011). However, the adolescent girls did report concern about being raped when they are under the influence of alcohol or losing their inhibitions, which may lead to risky sexual behaviour (Russell, et al., 2011). Consuming alcohol led to many fun stories to share with peers, but they also reported that too much alcohol could lead to damaged relationships with friends (Russell, et al., 2011).

2.5.1 Having a good time

Narratives of the specifics of why some adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour were reported by Russell, et al. (2011). These include perceiving that alcohol and being social go hand in hand. Expectations exist about adolescent binge drinking and adolescents therefore believe they are expected to engage in drinking behaviour (Russell et al., 2011). Through the modelling behaviour of friends and adults, adolescents link alcohol consumption to having a good time and they may even think that they cannot enjoy themselves without consuming alcohol (Russell, et al., 2011).

Many adolescents who engage in binge drinking are knowledgeable about the risks pertaining to binge drinking. Russell, et al. (2011) found that although adolescents are aware of the risks that alcohol consumption has, these risks are still disregarded. Adolescents see not drinking as the bigger risk to their social standing and therefore it is more important to them (Russell, et al., 2011). Social bonding is part of the adolescent phase. During this phase, most adolescents

choose to engage in social activities with their peers. According to Szmigin, et al. (2007), alcohol is an important factor in being together and having fun with friends.

2.5.2 Gaining self-confidence

More reasons for engaging in alcohol consumption are that the more one drinks the more self-confidence one gets, and the more entertaining one becomes. Russell, et al. (2011) found that adolescents consume alcohol in order to gain self-confidence, to forget about their troubles, have something to do when they are bored, help them to cope with stress and help them to sleep.

Adolescents also have reasons why they would reconsider engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Russell, et al. (2011) report that some narratives on adolescent alcohol consumption suggest that the negative effects of consuming alcohol, such as gaining weight and getting spots on their skin, were some of their reasons for not consuming alcohol. Getting really drunk was another reason for not engaging in binge drinking behaviour, as well as the risk of alcohol consumption impacting on a friendship negatively (Russell, et al., 2011).

2.5.3 Peer pressure

The adolescent phase is characterised by spending time with friends and being around peers who might influence their behaviour. They want to be with people of their own age. The influence of friends on their lives is very important. These influences can be positive or negative (Behan & Waters, 2013).

Adolescents engaging in binge drinking behaviour can be explained by many factors. These factors include being a male, having access to alcohol and believing that most peers consume alcohol (Champion, Foley, Sigmon-Smith, Sutfin, & Du-Rant, 2008; Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2009). Research suggest that higher levels of drinking alcohol are linked to the adolescent's perception of more regular drinking amongst friends, more often drunkenness amongst peers as well as having friends who are the providers of the alcohol (Maxwell, 2002; Reboussin, Song, Shrestha, Lohman, & Wolfson, 2006). Adolescents are therefore easily influenced by friends when deciding to engage in binge drinking or not. According to Song, Smiler, Wagoner, and Wolfson (2012), the perceptions of friends' alcohol consumption influence adolescents to a great extent. A study by these authors found that there is a large increase in the likelihood of drinking, and especially engaging in heavy drinking, due to the perceptions of alcohol by their peers (Song, et al., 2012).

Good stories about binge drinking can be seen as a further reason amongst peers to engage in binge drinking. According to Tutenges and Sandberg (2013), having a good story to tell about drinking is often a neglected reason (easily missed) for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Stories or narratives about drinking are usually told amongst young people to recall fun times, to make sense of own drinking behaviour and even to fake close friendships with others (Sheehan & Ridge, 2001).

2.5.4 Role of parents

According to Russell, et al. (2011), there are different areas in which a family can have an impact on adolescent drinking behaviour. These areas include family relationships versus rigid structures, family solidity, family communication, showing alcohol consumption behaviour by parents, family management, and parental supervision, as well as the effect of parents and friends (Russell, et al., 2011).

Parents or caretakers can play a significant role in adolescents' alcohol consumption. Research suggests parental monitoring plays a role in when, where and how adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour. Parental monitoring refers to parents being aware of their children's activities and what they are up to (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). When parents are monitoring their children, they obtain intentional information about their children. This act of parental monitoring can reinforce an adolescent's process of positive social adjustment (Laghi, Baiocco, D'Alessio, & Gurrieri, 2009; Tafa' & Baiocco, 2009).

A relationship exists between parental knowledge and adolescent binge drinking behaviour. According to Kerr and Stattin (2000), the term parental knowledge refers to parents obtaining information from their children, parents putting in effort to control their children's activities and confession of information by adults and children. Abar, Wood, and Jackson (2014) suggest that less adolescent substance use as well as delinquency can be associated with parental knowledge.

Parents influence adolescent drinking behaviour. Russell et al. (2011) found that adolescents' drinking behaviour was influenced by their parents in numerous ways. These researchers stated that adolescents whose parents tend to drink more tend to engage more in drinking behaviour (Russell, et al., 2011). Observing parents' alcohol consuming behaviour leads to adolescents being curious (Russell, et al., 2011). Through this behaviour, parents are enabling adolescents to take part in risky binge drinking behaviour. Although some studies that show causal effects

do exist between parent and child drinking, a recent study showed slight evidence of the causal effect of parental alcohol consumption on that of their offspring. Rossow, Keating, Felix, and McCambridge, (2015) state that there is a need to research a theory-driven, cohort study about the possible influences of parental drinking on their children, so that the burden of alcohol consumption on others can be understood better in order to develop intervention and prevention programmes.

Darling and Steinberg (1993) refer to parenting styles that may contribute to adolescent binge drinking behaviour. Parenting styles can be defined as the specific practices or behaviours, which are expressed within a general context or circumstance (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Thus, the way children and adolescents will react to challenging choices and how they will develop further is influenced by the parenting styles they grow up with. According to Laghi, Biaocco, D'Alessio, Bonacina and Gurrieri (2009), parenting styles may serve as risky as well as protective factors for adolescents.

Parenting styles regarding alcohol consumption may be hindering parents' efforts to stop their adolescents from engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Many parents would rather provide the alcohol instead of letting their children purchase the alcohol themselves or let them drink at home rather than some other place. This refers to "parental provision" (Kaynak, Winters, Cacciola, Kirby, & Aria, 2014). Findings from a study suggest that parents who purchase alcohol for their children in order to be aware of what their children are drinking may cause more excessive engagement in binge drinking (Song, Smiler, Wagoner, & Wolfson, 2012). These authors state that parents are decreasing their control over what their children drink when buying alcohol for them or hosting a party where alcohol is freely available (Song et al., 2012). A study by Danielsson, Romelsjö, and Tengström (2011) supports the notion that parents offering alcohol, especially to girls, leads to an increased risk of binge drinking.

2.6 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR

Research suggests that there are differences in the amount and effects of alcohol consumption between males and females. A study conducted by Visser and Routledge (2007) found that the number of males abusing substances was nearly double the number for females.

Alcohol consumption has different physiological effects on men and women. According to Murugiah (2012), alcohol has a greater effect on women than men. This is due to women's lower levels of the enzymes that break down alcohol, gastric alcohol dehydrogenase, as well

as their overall smaller physiques (Josephs & Steele 1990; MacAskill, Cooke, Eadie, & Hastings, 2001; Spooner & Hetherington, 2005). Therefore, women are more likely to get intoxicated more quickly than men, even if they consume the same amount of alcohol. When consuming alcohol males seemed less concerned about others and their own safety (Russell, et al., 2011)

Not only does binge drinking have different effects on males and females, but some discrepancies occur when males and females define and think about binge drinking. A study conducted in Australia found that female learners have specific views on what binge drinking is and why young people engage in binge drinking behaviour. Women in this study experienced binge drinking as a social phenomenon (Murugiah, 2012). According to these female learners, when binge drinking occurs undesirable social or personal behaviour usually occurs thereafter. This behaviour includes passing out, vomiting, violent behaviour and inappropriate sexual behaviour (Murugiah, 2012). The females in this study defined binge drinkers as those who drink themselves into an unconscious state and take part in what others view as deviant activities (Murugiah, 2012). According to the young women in this particular study, binge drinking can be linked to certain mannerisms related to low self-control (Murugiah, 2012). The views on binge drinking include that, although a person drinks excessively, if he is in control of himself it is not seen as binge drinking. Other common views are that when a person engages in certain embarrassing behaviour, even though he only drank moderately, he can be seen as a binge drinker (Murugiah, 2012). Murugiah (2012) found that a sense of control over a person's behaviour influences what young women think about binge drinking and their acceptance of it.

Others also perceive girls' and boys' drinking behaviour differently. Binge drinking is seen as a stigmatized activity for women, especially in Australia (Tutenges & Sandberg, 2013). Boys engaging in drinking behaviours are often perceived as them gaining masculine recognition (Workman, 2001). Research about binge drinking and violent behaviour, especially pertaining to boys, indicates a link between drinking and acting violently. According to research done by Kuntsche, et al. (2007), many boys tend to engage in binge drinking to avoid social rejection. This was a strong predictor of violent behaviour (Kuntsche, et al., 2007).

It is clear that males and females have different opinions, attitudes and perceptions about alcohol and alcohol consumption. According to Russell, et al. (2011), there are noteworthy differences between male and female attitudes to alcohol. Females tend to link alcohol use to

romantic networks, whereas with males alcohol is positioned in networks of developing masculinity.

2.7 INTERVENTION AND PREVENTION PROGRAMMES

Adolescent binge drinking behaviour appears to be escalating and has many serious implications for the different domains in an adolescent's life. Change needs to occur to decrease binge drinking behaviour.

The developmental social information-processing model involves two stages of purposeful change (Bekman, et al., 2011). These stages include an initial deliberate self-regulatory effort via attempts to stop drinking or reduce drinking behaviour, followed by efforts to maintain behavioural change (Brown, 2001; Brown, Anderson, Ramo, & Tomlinson, 2005).

Many studies have shown that the implementation of prevention programmes against alcohol use should be emphasised. Visser and Routledge (2009) state that prevention approaches should be aimed at children from a young age. These authors suggest that the cycle of substance use due to psychological problems should be addressed earlier rather than only later in treatment centres.

Pluddemann, et al. (2010) make several recommendations for research and future investigation after monitoring drug and alcohol abuse trends during 1996 and 2010 in South Africa. Some of these recommendations include exploring the views and experiences of adolescents on substance abuse programmes and interventions, as well as implementing a constructive youth development approach to enable the development of individual and community protective factors.

According to Morojele, Myers, et al. (2013), there is a serious need for intervention and prevention programmes to prevent or delay the commencement of alcohol use among adolescents. These intervention and prevention programmes should start as early as possible and should target both males and females (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013).

Adolescents should be screened at an early age to identify and prevent the use of alcohol in order to reduce the risk of young people developing alcohol and other drug use disorders. Those learners who are already dependent on substances such as alcohol and other drugs should be referred to treatment centres (Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013).

Intervention programmes should target not only individual factors linked to alcohol misuse, but also universal risk factors, which target approaches to address the mass-media campaigns (Palmgreen, Donohew, Lorch, Hoyle, & Stephenson, 2001). Researchers also suggest that interventions target school-based coping skills (Conrod, Castellanos, & Mackie, 2008; Conrod, Stewart, Comeau, & Maclean, 2006).

Conrod, Castellanos-Ryan, and Mackie (2011) found that interventions targeted at the personalities of adolescents in order to address alcohol misuse have significant positive outcomes on adolescent drinking behaviour. These authors also found that addressing and reducing the drinking behaviour of early onset drinkers may delay the onset of heavy drinking until after the important period of social- and neurodevelopment of adolescents (Conrod, et al., 2011). The social- and neurodevelopmental period of adolescents' growth is important because during this period brain functions such as the executive functions and reward responding are maturing. These functions have been implicated in personality vulnerability to addictions (Conrod, et al., 2011).

When developing and introducing prevention and intervention programs for binge drinking behaviour it is important to support the parents or the adolescents' caregivers as well. Russell, et al. (2011) suggest that parents and caregivers also need support when interventions about alcohol are implemented. The researchers stated that parents' lack of clarity on issues such as adolescent binge drinking, and whether or not they should allow alcohol usage at home, sends mixed messages to adolescents (Russell, et al., 2011).

Russell, et al. (2011) further suggest that collaboration is just as important as prevention. Adolescents are bound to take risks as part of their developmental stage and transitioning from childhood to adulthood. Russell, et al. (2011) found that it is equally important to support adolescents during this changeover and to guide them on drinking responsibly, rather than hindering the normal process of becoming an adult.

It is obvious that parents should play an active role when intervention and prevention programmes for binge drinking are implemented. Examples of parenting strategies to decrease adolescent alcohol use were identified by researchers in Australia. These strategies included parental support through parents ensuring positive feedback and comments when talking to their adolescents, parents being involved by knowing their children's routines and spending quality time with them, as well as parents encouraging communication and talking to their children about interesting issues and actively listening when their children talk to them (Ryan,

et al., 2011). Further strategies include educating parents about the dangers of alcohol consumption, the role of parents when it comes to modelling behaviour in providing alcohol, as well as monitoring their adolescents (Ryan, et al., 2011). Findings from the abovementioned study suggest that although discussion about the dangers and effects of alcohol between parents and children are important, it is equally important for parents and adolescents to enhance the quality of their relationship by fostering open communication, if they want to defer their children starting to consume alcohol (Ryan, et al., 2011).

Clear evidence exists that family orientated intervention and prevention programmes can be successful in decreasing adolescent drinking behaviour (Giannotta, Ortega, & Stattin, 2013). However, it seems that not many prevention and intervention programmes have focused on behaviourally normative families (Giannotta, et al., 2013). It is important to pay attention to detail such as place, time and the busy schedules of parents who are part of a prevention programme. Giannotta, et al., (2013) found it difficult to recruit parents for such programmes. Because of the logistical challenges of such a programme (Pettersson, Lindén-Boström, & Eriksson, 2009; Spoth, Redmond, & Shin, 2000), parents' participation can be linked to higher education levels and to more optimistic perceptions about intervention.

The above-mentioned study suggests that parents need to be educated in empathy and in thoughtfulness towards their children and what their needs are, which may lead to more positive behaviour from their adolescents (Giannotta, et al., 2013). Giannotta, et al. (2013) state that for this to be achieved one needs to develop strategies, which will involve and persuade parents to persevere with such a programme.

2.8 CONCLUSION

It is evident that binge drinking among adolescents is likely to have serious ramifications. Although adolescence is a certain developmental phase characterised by risk-taking, binge drinking may have severe negative effects on well-being and may even lead to alcohol dependency disorder, among other issues. It is concluded that adolescents need interventions and prevention programmes aimed at addressing the issues of binge drinking behaviour in order to minimize the risks that this behaviour entails.

Most work done in this area of study consists of quantitative studies. This study, with the exception of a few, works with a qualitative paradigm. This is why this study is different – a qualitative study with solid data which helps to understand the dynamics of adolescents' stories

about binge drinking behaviour. In the following Chapter, I will discuss the research design and methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to explore adolescents' narratives of binge drinking behaviour. In this study, Grade 11 learners were given the opportunity to share stories of binge drinking behaviour. My purpose was to gain insight into the phenomenon of binge drinking among adolescents.

In this chapter I will discuss the research design and methodology I used to explore adolescents' narratives of binge drinking behaviour. The research design and methodology are discussed within the paradigm, which I considered most suitable for this study.

3.2 MY RESEARCH PARADIGM

A framework for thinking about concepts such as research design, data gathering, analysis and how the researcher is involved in the process is common to this specific paradigm (Morgan, as cited in Boeije, 2010). In qualitative research, the researcher's thoughts will influence the design and method. The researcher is the key instrument of collection and analysis of the data. Combining a set of principles with different outlooks and ideas with different data collection methods, practices and techniques in order to produce knowledge forms the basis of social research (Neuman, 2007).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) define paradigms as such: "Paradigms represent what we think about the world (but cannot prove). Our actions in the world, including the actions we take as inquirers, cannot occur without reference to those paradigms: As we think, so do we act" (p. 15).

A paradigm refers to the framework the researcher uses to conduct research. It influences how one thinks about knowledge and about the realities of the research population. According to Kuhn (1970), paradigms can be seen as innovative transformations of perspectives. Terre Blanche and Durheim (1999) agree, stating that paradigms are part of systems of interconnected practices. I therefore agree with Mertens (2005) that a paradigm influences the way one looks at the world.

In the context of this study, the interpretive paradigm was used because it places emphasis on the making of meaning and experiential knowledge of people. The ontology of this paradigm reflects on the stance towards knowledge of the researcher and the participants. Terre Blanche and Durheim (1999) suggest that reality is based on internal and subjective experiences. These authors also refer to the epistemology of the paradigm as consisting of factors such as empathy and observer inter-subjectivity. They refer to the third dimension of the paradigm, the methodology, as being interactional, interpretive and qualitative (Terre Blanche & Durheim, 1999).

Terre Blanche & Durrheim (2014) state that paradigms consist of interrelated ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. Lincoln and Guba (cited in Mertens, 2005, p 8) agree with this view and suggest three questions that should guide research. Firstly, an ontological question: “What is the nature of reality?” The second question is an epistemological one: “What is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known?” The third asks a methodological question: “How can the knower go about obtaining the desired knowledge and understandings?”

I agree with Creswell (2007) that researchers bring their own perspective, view and orientation regarding research and reality to the study. As a social science researcher the opinions and experiences of others are valued.

3.2.1 Post-modernism

Post-modernism can be seen as a term that encompasses many different approaches to research (Maree, 2007). Conducting research from a postmodern view implies that multiple meanings can be assigned to realities. In the positivist approach it was believed that there were fixed realities and that relationships between variables were determined and could be operationally defined (Silverman, 2005). Using experiments and scientific techniques to find absolute truths guided this paradigm.

The post-modern paradigm opposed the positivist tenet that all truths can be objectively known and identified through a systematic scientific process of inquiry. A new emerging world-view challenged this research paradigm by implying that realities can be socially constructed and that the objective truth can never be fully known because it is ever changing, due to dynamic interactions with other researchers and experiences. This research study is conducted from a post-modernism point of view, including the notion that realities are not fixed and truths cannot

be known objectively. This approach will guide me as the researcher as part of the research process in order to gain information about how realities are shaped and different behaviours can be explained through social and personal interactions.

3.2.2 Social constructivism

The paradigm that has informed my research is the constructivist paradigm. The basic principles of social constructivism include the notion that reality is socially constructed. I resonate with the beliefs that every person shapes his/her own reality through interactions and experiences, and therefore grounded my research on this paradigm.

The constructivist paradigm grew from the philosophical understanding of hermeneutics (Mertens, 2005). Hermeneutics suggests that understandings or meanings can be interpreted (Mertens, 2005). Social constructivism focuses on how people make sense of understandings and experiences, and how these fit into larger discourses (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2014). The assumption of this approach is that human life experiences are essentially established from within the concept of language.

Conducting research from a social constructionist perspective enabled me to focus not only on the experiences of people, but also the role language plays. Language helps to construct reality (Terre Blanche, et al., 2014). Therefore, in this study, language cannot be seen as neutral, as the stories and words of the participants played a vital role in forming the rich and thick descriptions, which make up the data. Mertens (2005) further explains that the fundamental principles guiding this paradigm are that knowledge is constructed by those who partake in the research and inquiry process. As the researcher I was an active agent in the research process and was just as much part of the social world that I studied (Descombe, 2010) – and it is from this stance that I attempted to understand the experiences and the complexities of the participants' worlds in this study.

By positioning myself in the constructivist paradigm, I could form some sort of understanding of how the interactions between people and their surroundings are dynamic and influenced by each other, as well as many other different factors, such as political stance, demographic background and different worldviews. People form numerous different realities through social interaction and the construction of their own lives and stories. Conducting focus groups and gathering data in a narrative form guided me to gain knowledge and understanding of how

people interact and engage with each other, and their outer worlds, in order to make meaning and be enabled to tell different stories.

3.2.3 Beliefs underlying this study

Conducting research from a specific paradigm includes acknowledging how different beliefs such as ontology, epistemology and methodology influence your research design.

The **ontology** of this constructivist paradigm suggests that reality is socially constructed (Mertens, 2005). This means that people make sense of their realities (how they live and interact) through interactions with others. From this ontological stance, I aimed to obtain information from participants who shape their own realities through social interactions.

Every person is active in constructing his own thoughts and creating knowledge through being interactive (Howell, 2013). Therefore, we are all actively playing a part in constructing knowledge. It was consequently my aim to explore these realities, which were socially constructed by the participants in this study. Being subjectively part of the research process, I had to review and construct my own meanings of reality and their influence on my research approach. My ontological stance towards the research included the belief that there are no absolute truths and I undertook this project to obtain different truths, socially constructed by the participants in the study.

The **epistemology** of this study refers to the nature of reality (Merriam, 2009). From a constructivist approach, the epistemological stance also refers to the interactive nature of the relationship between the inquirer and the participant (Mertens, 2005).

Terre Blanche & Durrheim (2014) state that epistemological matters are concerned with the connections between the researcher and “what can be known” (p. 14). I intended to get as close as possible to the participants when conducting research based on the constructivist paradigm (Creswell, 2007). The epistemological assumptions of this study support my stance on the nature of reality. I used this study to explore these realities and how reality was socially constructed by those who took part in the study. Reality is also socially constructed by the interactions between people and the language they use. I conducted research from the constructivist paradigm in order to find out how I know what I know and how I, as the researcher, should make sense of the realities of different people.

The **methodological** assumption underlying the constructivist paradigm refers to the qualitative methods used to gain knowledge about the topic. Therefore, a qualitative and interpretive approach was used in this study. These methods of gathering qualitative data include document reviews, observations and interviews (Mertens, 2005).

I agree with Mertens (2005) that multiple realities are a changing dynamic and will evolve as the study develops. Reality for many people will change, and may be adapted as the participants undergo different experiences, and even respond to others' perspectives and assumptions.

3.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.3.1 Qualitative research

Research design serves as the framework and plans that guide the researcher to design conditions for gathering and interpreting data in order to contribute to the field of research in a meaningful way (Terre Blanche, et al., 2014). The process of qualitative research is naturalistic, inductive and holistic (Durrheim, 2014).

Qualitative research can be viewed as a methodological paradigm used to conduct research. Maree (2007) explained qualitative research as suggesting the following:

Words (concepts, terms, symbols) are the only tools we have to communicate meaning. Each word is laden with its own complex set of meanings that are often particular to a specific setting, making it difficult to extract the exact meaning of sets of assumptions, beliefs and values, which render the definitions they may offer of words always tentative and partial. (p. 47)

Therefore, qualitative research entails making meaning of people's beliefs, thoughts and perceptions through using and analysing their words and communications, using an interpretive approach. Through gathering sufficient data, I aimed at accumulating a rich amount of descriptive data from the participants in the study. Maree (2007) further suggests that qualitative research is about understanding the social as well as the cultural contexts that are influencing behaviour. Asking "why" questions guided me as the researcher to explore the different phenomena and behaviour of participants (Maree, 2007).

I based my orientation towards qualitative research on the same three conditions as Patton (1990). The first condition for qualitative research entails that many educational programmes be based on humanistic values and that those who will benefit from the research prefer the

personal contact and the type of data that will come from a qualitative research study. The second condition requires that qualitative methods will serve as a first option when other valid and appropriate quantitative methods are available for the specific outcome of the study (Patton, 1990). The third condition includes that qualitative research methods provide depth to a study. Based on these three conditions I came to the conclusion that those who will benefit from this study would prefer personal contact, which will provide a method that is valid and appropriate to best fit the outcome of this study and will ensure that there is depth in the data and research findings.

My role as a qualitative researcher is also one of being a reflexive practitioner. Reflexivity implies acts of reflection and being thoughtful when engaged in the research process. It is a complex term that has an influence on both the theoretical fundamentals and feasibility of a qualitative research study (King & Horrocks, 2010). Being a reflexive practitioner allowed me to explore the interconnected relationships between knowledge, experience, research roles and the social world (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010, p. 152; King & Horrocks, 2010). Therefore, the researcher as self is an instrument in the research process and needs to be critically reflective towards him/herself (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Being a reflexive practitioner and teacher refers to bringing numerous selves to the study. From a position as a reflective practitioner, it is important to implement these specific interventions.

3.4 GENERATING THE DATA

In the following section, site selection, sampling and methods of data collection will be discussed.

3.4.1 Context of the study

I decided to conduct this research at the school where I was a Life Orientation teacher. The subject of Life Orientation lends itself to open discussion about topics such as underage binge drinking behaviour etc. Conducting research from a qualitative framework, I was expected to be a primary instrument in the research process. Qualitative research is mainly about understanding how individuals make sense of their lives (Merriam, 2009). I needed to enter the research site with as little disruption as possible in order to obtain the richest data. Establishing good rapport with participants was very important. Warren (1988) suggests that how the host society accepts the fieldworker's presence will be a reflection of specific context, cultural norms and expectations, as well as the fieldworker's specific characteristics. This specific school was chosen because it has a population of learners from middle to high income

households. At the moment the school has 902 learners and 64 staff members. At first when I obtained access to the school, I had an interview with the principal. He is the gatekeeper who would most affect the likelihood of the learners participating in the study (Crano & Bewer, 2008). I approached him in a non-threatening and understandable way in order to explain the purpose and aim of the study (Crano & Bewer, 2008). Initially he was resistant and apprehensive about the confidentiality of the learners, whether learners would miss academic classes as well as the anonymity of the school in the research process. After presenting my research proposal and addressing his concerns, he granted permission to conduct the research with the precondition that the school's name should be kept confidential.

Before commencing the first phase of data gathering, I explained the purpose and the procedure of the study to the whole Grade 11 group of learners. They had the chance to ask questions and to clarify any misconceptions and expectations. This enabled me to ensure that the whole group knew exactly what the research was about and how they could participate in the study. I explained the confidentiality as well as the rights of the participants and asked them whether they wanted to volunteer to take part in this study. It was important that I explained and reminded the participants of their rights throughout the study.

Being a teacher at the school where the data was gathered opened the field for me to maintain a good rapport with those who participated in the study. I knew the contextual backgrounds of the participants, which informed a healthy relationship between me and the participants, as well as creating an awareness of how culture, background and social norms may affect the data being gathered. The school was willing to participate in the research and permission was obtained by the Western Cape Educational Department (WCED, Appendix B) as well as from the principal of the specific school (Appendix C).

I acknowledged that the dual role of the researcher as teacher at the school as well as researcher could be challenging but there were many benefits that outweighed the risks. Being a teacher and researcher at the specific school positioned me to use the results to develop specific interventions, which could be of enormous benefit.

3.4.2 Sampling

In order to obtain rich, specific data, careful sampling is important. Sampling can be viewed as “the selection of research participants from an entire population” (Durrheim, 2014, p. 49). The researcher should, based on the research design, identify a representative sample that would

suit the purpose of the research best. Conducting research from the qualitative paradigm enables the researcher to elicit findings that can be transferable. This enables the researcher to understand the context of other groups comparable to those that were studied (Painter, 2014, p. 49).

I used convenience sampling within the qualitative framework to gather participants for the study. The convenience sample is a well-established way of accessing data and which I used in this study. Convenience sampling refers to a method of sampling where those who participate in the study were already available (Mertens, 2005). This method of sampling enabled me to select participants who were available.

As a teacher at a high to middle income school, I asked participants from the whole Grade 11 population to volunteer as part of the focus group. Only those who gave permission took part in the focus group interviews. The sample consisted of only eight learners. A small sample size suited this study best. It was important that the learners experienced a safe space to discuss and share stories they had heard about binge drinking behaviour.

During the first phase of data gathering the whole Grade 11 group was identified as the sample. The Grade 11 learners were asked to write an essay about stories they had heard of binge drinking behaviour. Based on the information gathered in the essays, the second phase of data gathering comprised a focus group, which formed the sample from the population of learners who wrote an essay. Conducting research from the qualitative paradigm predisposed me to expected valid information. Therefore, I needed to present rich descriptions, which were meaningful and could lead to insights and understanding of the issue of binge drinking behaviour. These rich and thick descriptions provided a good basis for qualitative analysis, which was connected with “information-richness” rather than with sample size (Patton, 1990, pp. 185).

3.5 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

In narrative inquiry, openness and trust should be present between the researcher and the participant (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Part of narrative inquiry entails being an active listener and giving the participants a “full voice” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 118). I therefore included narrative essays and focus group interviews in this study, which will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

3.5.1 Documents

Personal narratives were gathered in the form of essays and stories about adolescent binge drinking behaviour. The adolescents were asked to write about any story they had heard about binge drinking behaviour. These documents served as valuable data for the study. Gathering these stories and documents enabled me to learn about the multifaceted nature and shape of the adolescents' individual experiences and how they interact in their social worlds (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012). These documents also contained stories about how experiences are influenced by culture and social norms.

3.5.2 Focus groups

Focus group interviews were used to generate data in the second phase of the data gathering process. Focus groups can be viewed as a strategy to obtain data from individuals about how they form perspectives and schemas (Mertens, 2005). According to Mertens (2005), conducting a focus group provides the platform for individuals to share and exhibits understanding of other's agreements or disagreements within the specific topic being explored. Therefore, conducting a focus group to obtain different views, perspectives and assumptions would contribute to the rich data required for this particular study. Using focus groups gave individuals a safe platform where they can share their opinions, perspectives and values about the topic of binge drinking behaviour.

Focus groups were my second strategy to gather data from the identified sample. Cataldi, (cited in Gatta, et al., 2015) suggests that conducting a focus group is a very adequate way of working with adolescents and gathering information. Using focus groups allowed me to explore topics such as stories about binge drinking behaviour and other topics that are relevant to the participants' age. Cataldi (cited in Gatta, et al., 2015) further suggests the following about conducting focus groups with adolescents who speak about underage drinking:

using the adolescents' language, starting with *their* questions and revealing *their* priorities. Involving them as a group also has the advantage of encouraging the participations of adolescents who would be more reluctant to take part in individual interviews, as this makes it easier to talk about types of behaviour that might be *taboo* and topics that interest them although the dominant (adult) culture might consider them deviant. (p. 65)

It was my responsibility, as a narrative interviewer, to initiate the production of stories and narratives during the focus group interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). I therefore asked questions in such a way that opened a space for the participant to share a story.

As a qualitative researcher, from a constructivist approach, interviews were an opportunity to gather data from the participants, not only by asking specific questions but also to facilitate a space where language such as stories, typical phrases, metaphors and arguments, could be used as valuable data. I used the focus groups to facilitate discussions and elicit the use of language that best described experiences, assumptions and conflicts about the topic of underage binge drinking. The learners had a choice as to whether they wanted to volunteer to participate in the focus group, as only a small number of learners were asked to volunteer.

King and Horrocks (2010) provided pointers that I used to guide my narrative interviewing within the focus group. Firstly, I had to ensure that the focus of the interview served the purpose of eliciting stories about binge drinking behaviour (King & Horrocks, 2010). Whenever the participants drifted away from the topic, I had to bring them back to the focus of the discussion in a respectful manner. The second pointer refers to providing space and time to make connections that make sense for them (King & Horrocks, 2010). This pointer directed me to provide space and opportunity for the participants to tell stories and conceptualise the meaning they attach to certain stories and phenomena. The third pointer I adhered to was to acknowledge that using language and constructing language in a specific way is important when making narratives (King & Horrocks, 2010). The participants used their own way of expressing themselves and telling stories, through using language as a medium of expression. They used their own formed words and colloquial language to express feelings and construct meanings.

The two focus groups enabled me to gather more related data and to identify and address the gaps in the data collected through the essays. In the first focus group, there were eleven females and the second focus group comprised ten males. Confidentiality, anonymity and mutual respect were important values in the focus group. I responded empathetically to provide a safe space for the participants to explore and discuss the meanings they attach to stories about binge drinking behaviour through guiding questions derived from the data gathered in the essays. I encouraged those in the group who were less verbal and gave opportunities to the participants to clarify any misconceptions if there were any.

3.5.3 Recording the data

Data recording took place through recording the interviews in the focus groups. The participants gave their consent for the discussion being recorded. Recording the interview enabled the researcher to keep a record of what was said without interrupting the conversations (Terre Blanche, et al., 2014). Using an audio recorder in my focus groups enabled me to pay attention and respond in an attentive way to what was being said, rather than taking notes.

The interviews were voice recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews from the focus group, as well as the essays, are stored in a safe space in the researcher's home. Only I, as the researcher and Prof Carolissen, my thesis supervisor, had access to the raw data gathered during the research process.

Transcribing the data is not only a technical assignment (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). It entails interpretation and judgement (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). When I transcribed the two interviews, I had to ensure that the meaning was correctly extracted in the transcribed account, in the words of the participants.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

“Narratives bring into the open rich, detailed and often personal perspectives” (Hyvärinen, 2009, p. 447). Narrative analysis allows the researcher to explore the way participants make sense of their experiences and offers a way in which the complex ways in which participants make sense of reality can be explored and considered (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2008). This approach to analysis values the expression of feelings, signs and symbols in language and prizes how the participants construct meaning (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), this process of analysis is very useful when exploring social change and social identity. Therefore, as the researcher, I was interested in how the participants used language and experiences to construct their own stories and attach meaning as part of their social identity development.

Using narratives as a way to study and research changes in the mind, social interactions and identities is particularly relevant. According to many researchers, substances such as alcohol are linked to changes in the user's behaviour, consciousness and identity (Denzin, 1987; Milkman & Sunderwirth, 2010; Singer, 1997; Tart, 1986). I used verbal accounts and stories, which served as the data, in order to gain an understanding of how meaning is socially

constructed and how changes in the behaviour, state of mind and social interactions occur and are influenced.

The narrative approach was used in this process of psychological inquiry. Narrative identity, as part of the personality itself, and adopted stories of the self (McAdams, 2012), refers to how a person makes sense of the stories of the self and how the narrative self is narrated and shaped in social circumstances and specific settings (McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007).

When a researcher develops new ways of understanding phenomena through exploring specific concepts this can be referred to as a context of discovery (McAdams, 2012). Through the context of discovery (Reichenbach, 1938), researchers explore narratives for broad “patterns, themes, images, and qualitative characterizations” (p. 16) to understand the meaning that people attach to certain concepts, as well as generate new theories about their lives. I used life-narrative to explore new themes and patterns in the stories of adolescent binge drinking behaviour. Through narrative inquiry, I was able to gather and analyse these stories in order to obtain meaning, and information about how adolescents make sense of their selves and how they attach meaning to their behaviour.

Literature refers to three different positions on narrative analysis. During my analysis I situated myself in all three positions, to explore, organise and make sense of the data, as these positions in relation to narrative data analysis interact with each other, together with other dynamic processes which are used, with many other possible means of analysis (Hutchison, 2008; Sussman & Ames, 2001). Larsson, Lilja, Von Braun and Sjöblom (2013) refer to the psychology-based approach to narrative analysis and the understanding of stories. In this approach the researcher aims to understand the participant’s “inner life”, as well as “identity or self-constructions” (Larsson, et al., 2013, p. 1295). Therefore, during my data analysis, I was challenged to look for and understand the deeper and hidden stories, in order to obtain a rich and thick description of the narratives that I gathered.

The sociology-based approach to narrative analysis suggests that stories are grounded in social constructivism as well as post-modernism (Larsson, et al., 2013). This position focuses on how identities and the self are constructed and inspired by postmodernism, as well as acknowledging the role that language plays (Larsson, et al., 2013). I conceded that the stories told by these adolescents about binge drinking behaviour were important, “not only for representing the self but also for negotiating certain aspects of the self when growing up in a specific culture-bound time and place” (Larsson, et al., 2013, p. 1295). Through positioning

myself in this approach, I could acknowledge and identify how different characteristics and identities are developed and formed through participation in social interaction processes (Larsson, et al., 2013).

A holistic perspective towards narratives is included in the social work-based position. The social work-based position also focuses on the interactions between people and how human behaviour can be understood (Larsson, et al., 2013). Hutchison (2008) suggests that the social work-based approach to narrative analysis comprises a multidimensional analysis of environmental, personal and dimensions of time, which are all important when aiming to understand human behaviour (Larsson, et. al., 2013).

As a researcher conducting research and using life-narrative analysis, I learnt about how adolescents make sense of stories about binge drinking behaviour through analysing narratives derived from interviews and the documents gathered. This type of narrative gave me a glimpse into how the participants shape their realities, tell their stories and challenge their own social construction. Using narrative analysis enabled me to focus on meaning, and how the participants construct their own reality, which is in line with the social constructivist approach from which I worked.

The purpose of this study was not to develop new theory but rather to understand and make meaning of the stories of adolescents about binge drinking behaviour. I began the analysis by reading through the essays and the transcripts of the interviews to get a feel for the text. After reading through the texts again, I took notes and developed ideas as well as psychological themes as I moved from one essay to the next. An example of this is attached as Appendix D.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim to text. After conducting the interviews in the focus groups and gathering the stories from the essays, I worked through the texts to find themes that captured something interesting or important (McAdams, 2012). The data gathered were in Afrikaans, as that was the language the participants felt comfortable speaking. I conducted the data analysis in Afrikaans but translated the quotes I used into English. Esin, Fathi, and Squire (2014) state that although some stories probably get lost during translation, fresh meanings may develop from the translated extracts. Although new meanings may arise from the text, I acknowledged that some nuances and idioms could not be sufficiently translated into another language (Esin, et al., 2014). Therefore, it was important for me to keep the readers of the thesis in mind during translating, and I aimed to keep it as close to the original text as possible (Esin, et al., 2014). After I identified different themes, I looked for alternative understandings.

Alternative understandings always occur (Marshall & Rossman, 2006), therefore I had to look for patterns and themes situated in the essays and the focus group discussions that implied deeper meanings.

3.7 DATA VERIFICATION

3.7.1 Trustworthiness

Maree (2007) addresses the issue of ethics by dealing with validity, effectiveness and practicality. Authors such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Denzin and Lincoln (2003) suggest that issues such as credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability are important.

Enhancing the trustworthiness of the study can be obtained through crystallisation. This concept refers to gathering data by using different methods (Maree, 2007). In order to enhance the trustworthiness of this study I am aiming to obtain data using two data gathering methods. This will enable me to gather data from voices different from my own and therefore enable me to study multiple constructed realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

My role as a researcher in the constructivist paradigm – conducting qualitative research – entailed working as part of a collaborative team to obtain data. I viewed my role as a sensitive observer who recorded the multiple realities and voices of the participants as authentically as I could (Maree, 2007).

3.7.2 Credibility

Credibility refers to the internal validity of the post-positivist paradigm (Mertens, 2005). When conducting qualitative research credibility refers to testing whether there is a correspondence between the way the participants perceive social phenomena and the way the researcher portrays their viewpoints. It was therefore important that I portrayed exactly the viewpoints of the learners who were the participants and not how I interpreted what they meant. The purpose of this study is to explore adolescents' stories about binge drinking behaviour. As the researcher, I had to acknowledge that the participants shape their own realities due to different experiences and contributing factors in their lives.

Strategies can be used to increase credibility in a research project. The first strategy I used to increase credibility in this study was persistent observation. Although observations were not a primary form of data gathering, the researcher, as a teacher, constantly observed how adolescents speak about binge drinking and tell stories about underage drinking behaviour.

According to Mertens (2005), the researcher should be able to observe over a period of time that will enable the researcher to identify the prominent issues. Member checks enabled me to verify the information I gathered in the data gathering process with the participants. Obtaining feedback from the participants and the members of the focus groups enabled me to ask and check what I interpreted from them and how it fitted into their experience and their views and assumptions about certain issues. The participants also had the opportunity to correct information if I had interpreted it differently from what they meant.

3.7.2.1 Triangulation

The researcher tries to increase confidence in his own evidence through the process of triangulation (Stake, 2010). The different methods that qualitative researchers use provides a “deeper” understanding of the phenomena being researched (Silverman, 2000). I combined different methods of gathering data. Triangulation of data sources enabled me to collect information using different methods and from different sources. Methodological triangulation also took place when I used different methods, such as documents and interviews from the focus groups, to obtain data through various methods.

In this study, I used several data-gathering techniques to collect data from the various sources. I used essays as documents and focus-group interviews. The data gathered from the essays was cross-checked for overarching themes or differences with the data obtained from the focus groups. Cross-checking the data enhanced the credibility of the study.

3.7.2.2 Member checks

Merriam (2009) refers to member checking as “respondent validation” (p. 217). Through this process, the researcher can rule out any misunderstanding in the data, as well as misperceptions and their own misunderstandings of the data obtained. The process of member checking also aids in the protection of the participants from possible misrepresentation (Stake, 2010). The data gathered from the essays was checked by the participants who formed the focus groups. I asked the participants of the focus groups to read the transcribed texts to check the information gathered from each participant.

3.7.2.3 Peer examination

I used the process of peer examination to increase the credibility of the study. This was done by a peer who is “knowledgeable” (Merriam, 2009, p 220) about the methodology and the

topic. She scanned some of the raw data and assisted me in assessing whether the results were plausible (Merriam, 2009).

3.7.3 Dependability

Dependability in qualitative research can be viewed as the equivalent of reliability in quantitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Dependability answers the question of whether the results are consistent with the data that was collected (Merriam, 2009). When conducting research using the qualitative paradigm change is expected and is part of reality. Dependability cannot be addressed without acknowledging credibility. Strategies used to ensure consistency and dependability in this study include triangulation, investigator's position and an audit trail (Merriam, 2009, p 222). Triangulation has already been explored in section 3.7.2.1 and can be used to enhance credibility as well as dependability.

3.7.3.1 Investigator's position

This strategy refers to the stance that the researcher takes in the research process, and how his or her reflections and own biases, dispositions, worldviews and assumptions may influence the data and the research process (Merriam, 2009). The researcher should be aware of the self and how the dynamics between the participants and the researchers may influence the research process and the data (Gobo, 2011). They need to understand how the researcher's values and outlook may affect the findings of the study and how the researcher's position impacts on the process of research (Gobo, 2011). Being a reflective practitioner, I had to be open to what the learners in the focus groups said. Internal reflection challenged my own views on certain topics pertaining to binge drinking and how I make sense of this concept.

3.7.3.2 Audit trail

The audit trail refers to a method, which can be used to follow the researcher (Merriam, 2009). Petty, Thompson, & Stew (2012) explain the audit trail as the way the researcher came to the understandings, implications and conclusions of the study. The audit trail in this study explicitly explains how I got to the results by referring to how data was collected (section 3.5) and how the data was analysed (section 3.6). Chapters 3 and Chapter 4 of this study act as an audit trail by explaining clearly how the research was conducted and analysed, and how the findings were reported.

3.7.4 Transferability

External validity refers to the extent to which the findings of a study can be useful in additional situations (Merriam, 2009). When a study is generalizable, its findings have to be internally valid, reliable and credible (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). External validity informs how the qualitative paradigm can be identified as transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This concept refers to how generalizable the results of the study are (Merriam, 2009).

The role of the researcher in qualitative research is to provide extensive information so that the reader can make judgements about the extent of the findings which can be generalized (Mertens, 2005). Mertens (2005) refers to this extensive information as “thick descriptions” (p. 256). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that a good way to confirm the likelihood of transferability is through providing thick descriptions. Thick descriptions include adequate evidence such as descriptions of the settings, the participants as well as the findings (Merriam, 2009). Through providing rich and thick descriptions in different contexts and different meanings of reality from the participants, I attempt to address transferability in this study. I also gathered evidence, such as quotes from the interviews, my own field notes and the documents, which all contribute to ensuring that the study is transferable (Merriam, 2009).

Another strategy, mentioned by Merriam (2009) to increase transferability, is to pay particular attention to the selection of the sample for the study. Merriam (2009) states that seeking variation in the process of sample selection can allow for a bigger range of “application of the findings by consumers of the research” (p. 227). In this study, I included participants from different contexts and cultures. This made the sample diverse and increased the generalizability of the study. A thorough account of the participants can be viewed in section 3.4. All of the above-mentioned strategies guided me to help increase the trustworthiness of the study.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

When conducting qualitative research it is important to adhere to the ethical principles of the research design. Social researchers follow ethical guidelines to protect themselves and others from harm when conducting research (Boeije, 2010). Boeije (2010) refers to ethics as “finding a balance between benefits and risks for harm” (p. 43).

It was important for me to follow specific ethical guidelines throughout the research process, to protect the participants from possible harm and to contribute to the field of study in an ethical

manner. I aimed at not exploiting the participants, acknowledging confidentiality agreements, obtaining informed consent, and respecting the rights of the participants.

Analysis of the data included working through seventy-seven essays written by Grade 11 learners. However, adhering to the ethical practice and guidelines of this study, 15 essays could not be used for analysis because the learners had written stories about themselves. Due to confidentiality and the practice of binge drinking whilst under the legal drinking age, essays about their own stories were put aside. I had to redirect conversation several times during the focus group discussions to assure anonymity and to prevent the participants from sharing not their own stories, but rather stories they had heard or had interpreted from their own perspectives.

3.8.1 Consent and voluntarily participation

3.8.1.1 Institutional permission

Before commencing this study, I had to obtain ethical clearance from the University of Stellenbosch, as well as permission from the various role players. Documents, explaining the procedure of data gathering, as well as the consent forms, were drawn up and formed an application to the Research Ethics Committee. Upon explaining how the participant would be protected and the procedure of the data gathering (see section 1.4.2) ethical clearance was given by the Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix A). I obtained permission from the WCED (see Appendix B) to conduct the research in that specific school with explicit guidelines, which I followed in order to conduct the research in that, school (see Appendix C).

Through fully explaining what the study was about, as well as the research process, I followed the ethical principle of obtaining informed consent (Boeije, 2010). Consent should be seen as a continuous process between the researchers and the participants throughout the research process (Miller & Bell, 2012). A consent form was signed by each participant (Appendix D) after I had discussed all the processes, their roles as well as possible risks and benefits with them. By discussing the research process, I gave the participants an opportunity to ask and clarify questions about their role and the influences of the research.

3.8.2 Beneficence

I further ensured that the basic ethical principles such as beneficence, respect, and justice, guided my research process. Beneficence entails avoiding unnecessary harm or risks, and maximising worthy outcomes for both the research process and the participants (Mertens, 2005). This principle also demands that the society and everyone involved in the research process should benefit from it. The principle of beneficence also refers to the researcher's moral obligation to act for the benefit of others through removing conditions that will cause harm and help participants in danger, protecting and defending participants' rights, and prevent harm from occurring to clients.

I tried not to violate the rights of the participants and explained the possible risks of harm to them. I further explained the benefits of taking part in the study – not only for research processes but also to the broader community.

3.8.3 Non-maleficence

The principle of non-maleficence refers to not causing any harm to the participants involved in the research process. The researcher must see to it that they maintain a minimum level of competence, to reduce the risk of causing harm to participants. When conflict occurs, it should be dealt with in a way that avoids or minimizes harm.

I implemented this principle through safeguarding the rights and welfare of the participants. I established the ethical principal of non-maleficence through respecting their rights throughout the study and attempted to minimize the risk of participating in the study.

3.8.4 Respect

As the researcher, I aimed to treat all the participants with the necessary respect and courtesy (Mertens, 2005). I acknowledged that in-depth discussions and descriptions of the adolescent's inner worlds and stories might induce imaginings, thoughts and even memories and emotions (Larsson, et al., 2013). Therefore, as the researcher, I ensured that the questions were sensitively phrased.

3.8.5 Justice

Justice includes ensuring that the processes used were reasonable, and carefully considered. The research process and methodology were carefully planned and discussed to confirm that the procedures are reasonable and fairly administered (Mertens, 2005). Justice also demands that the researcher see to it that participants are cared for and supported throughout the process.

I cared for and supported the participants through providing care for those who could possibly become distressed and would need extra support during the research process (Wassenaar, 2014).

3.8.6 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity were important principles I adhered to throughout my conducting research with this specific group of adolescents. I used pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the participants. In a case where the participants wanted to share their names, I addressed the implications of pseudonyms versus actual names (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). I respected the participants' right to privacy throughout the research process. The terms of confidentiality and the breeching thereof were thoroughly discussed before the research commenced. The participants had to give permission for me to disclose identifying information to other parties. I could only disclose otherwise when the participant posed harm to him/herself or to others, or if I was otherwise forced by legal authorities such as a court.

3.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed the qualitative paradigm and gave a detailed discussion of my research design within the qualitative framework. The process of data analysis from a narrative perspective was accounted for, and ethical issues and how they were addressed were raised. In this chapter my role in and contribution to the research process were discussed.

In the next chapter, I will examine the research findings from the different participants as they were analysed and placed in categories and narrative themes. How these themes contribute to and relate to existing literature will be outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to present the data collected from the participants. A data analysis is included to answer the research questions that guided this study. In this chapter concerning analysis, Section A will comprise analysis of the 62 essays. Section B of the data analysis will cover the content and process of the separate focus groups within groups, as well as across the different gender groups. The overarching research question is:

“How do adolescents make sense of binge drinking behaviour?”

The following sub-questions, as outlined in Chapter 1, have guided the research and data analysis process to be discussed in this chapter:

- What are adolescents’ narratives on binge drinking behaviour?
- What are the dynamics and practices involved in adolescent binge drinking behaviour?
- What is the nature of male and female binge drinking behaviour? Do they differ or coincide?
- What are adolescents’ views of interventions that target binge drinking behaviour?

The identified themes and categories will be discussed in this chapter in both section A and B in order to address and answer the research questions. This chapter will also be used to discuss the research findings in relation to the present literature in order to answer the research questions. Different categories emerged from data analysis of the essays and these are grouped into themes, which are presented in Table 4.1.

SECTION A: THEMES AND CATEGORIES OF ESSAYS

Table 4.1

Summary of Essays' Themes and Categories

| THEMES | CATEGORIES |
|--|--|
| Narratives of the nature and extent of binge drinking | Details of where and how binge drinking takes place Gaining access to alcohol Binge drinking starting age |
| Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | Adolescence as a phase of life Peer pressure Emotional hardships |
| Narratives of parental enabling | Parental monitoring Examples by parents Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents |
| Narratives of consequence | Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity and physical effects of consuming alcohol |
| Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities | Difference between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour Different effects of binge drinking behaviour amongst girls and boys |
| Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | Intervention programmes How adolescents may stop engaging in binge drinking behaviour Role of parents |

4.2 EXPOSITION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings of the research will be presented according to the themes identified in Table 4.1. These themes include the nature and extent of binge drinking behaviour among adolescents, narratives of regret, transgression, parental enabling, performative masculinity and strategies

to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents. These themes emerged from the data analysis and formed the underlying views and perceptions of the adolescents who participated in the study. The narratives in this study were generated from the data which was produced from essays and a focus group conducted with boys and girls separately (see Appendix E). For the purpose of this thesis, I translated the Afrikaans extracts from the focus group interviews and the essays into English. Each extract is numbered and the original Afrikaans quotes can be found in Appendix F.

4.2.1 The nature and extend of binge drinking

It was evident that the Grade 11 learners had definite views regarding binge drinking behaviour among adolescents. These views were described in stories about binge drinking behaviour that they had heard. Each of the categories will be discussed in more detail.

4.2.1.1 Where and how binge drinking takes place

According to the adolescents, binge drinking occurs almost every weekend and on a regular basis. Some indicated that binge drinking happens to the extent that some learners get so sick that they have to be hospitalised. Stories about how and where binge drinking takes place include how adolescents go to “kuiers¹” and the drinking usually takes place when parents go to bed or if they are not present. Some indicated that adolescents would drink during the week as well if there were opportunities for “kuiers”. One learner summarised it in the following way:

At kuiers¹ people smoke and drink like fish. Children make sure they have a place to sleep and then they drink without stopping when the parents go to bed. This happens on Friday and Saturday evenings and there are some children who do not mind drinking in the middle of the week (P-3M; Q1).

The story of this participant was supported by others and many who shared stories about adolescents having sleepovers so that they could binge drink. Participant-12M (Q2) shared his perspective:

¹The English word for “kuiers” is visit. This word does not capture the true meaning. The word “kuiers” signifies having a good time, drinking and partying. It can refer either to a setting or to an act. The word “kuiers” makes drinking and partying more sociably acceptable, especially for parents.

Teenagers have sleepovers so that they can drink a lot.

They do not go to 'kuiers' to meet with friends, they go to "kuiers" to drink with friends (P-46M; Q3).

This narrative about how and when adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour suggests that many adolescents will make an effort to arrange sleepovers or places where they can drink, and it is usually rather at someone's house than in a public place such as a nightclub. A few of the male adolescents mentioned that acting older than they were helped them gain access to places where only people over-eighteen were allowed. One stated, "*teenagers grow beards and then go to clubs to party there*" (P-14M; Q4).

4.2.1.2 Gaining access to alcohol

Most participants indicated that they were aware of where one could find and buy alcohol in the community where they live. Some of the participants were of the opinion that alcohol was easily accessible, since parents also use alcohol. Alternatively, they make use of older siblings to purchase alcohol for the parties.

Narratives about how adolescents gain access to alcohol included stories about parents buying alcohol, (see the following section) liquor stores not minding adolescents buying alcohol, and asking siblings to buy it for them. Participant 11F (Q5) shared a story about older siblings purchasing alcohol:

My one friend has a brother who is 20 and he usually buys alcohol for her. She takes it to parties in her backpack.

It seems that many adolescents are of the opinion that liquor stores are enabling underage drinking by not asking for identification documents or the ages of the young people who purchase alcohol. Practices to make young people look older, such as growing beards, also make it easier for some to purchase drinks. Participants 15M, 27M and 40M shared their perspectives on how adolescents obtain alcohol in the following stories:

Children find someone who is older than 18 or someone's older brother to buy alcohol for them (P-15M; Q6).

Just buy alcohol themselves at general stores or shebeens (P-27M; Q7).

Liquor stores sell alcohol without asking the age of the children (P-40M; Q8).

Some were of the opinion that one can always show up at a “kuier” because there will always be alcohol for anyone who wants to have some. They stated that:

The word ‘kuier’ is used differently these days. There is always alcohol at ‘kuiers’ (P-31M; Q9).

What happens at a ‘kuier’ stays at a ‘kuier’. There is definitely alcohol at every ‘kuier’. That is a reality... (P-36M; Q10)

4.2.1.3 Binge drinking starting age

The study was conducted at a middle income school where most adolescents could be seen as advantaged. The stories gathered were told by adolescents from a youth risk perspective and not from a youth at risk perspective. Youth risk is grounded on certain perceptions, such as youth, in a broader community, which is not necessarily a disadvantaged community. The starting age for binge drinking can be seen as significant since the reasons for engaging in binge drinking behaviour differ among youth at risk. According to the participants, Grade 9 (14-15 years) is viewed as a time to start experimenting with alcohol and engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Most participants give the starting age as between 13 and 15 years. Participants 6M and 30M state that:

You would go to ‘kuiers’ from Grade 9 and you will get alcohol at the parties. At that age the boys wil start drinking earlier and girls would start at Grade 10 (P-6M; Q11).

Some teenagers are old enough to drink, others are still too young such as 13 and 14 years (P-30M; Q12).

The data gathered through the stories about gaining access to alcohol indicated that older siblings would usually purchase alcohol for younger ones. These stories also showed a different meaning attached to the word “kuier” and that “kuier” is associated with engaging in binge drinking behaviour at a certain place. It is evident that adolescents find many ways to purchase alcohol and that binge drinking usually takes place over weekends at friends’ houses. These stories also indicated where and how adolescents consumed alcohol over weekends.

4.2.2 Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour

Reasons given why adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour range from various opinions and perspectives. Many adolescents mentioned that being a teenager entailed binge drinking behaviour and experimenting, whilst some gave other reasons such as peer pressure and their own emotional hardships as reasons for engaging in binge drinking behaviour.

4.2.2.1 Adolescence as a phase of life

Numerous essays included stories about how binge drinking was part of being an adolescent and experimenting with different things:

Teenagers are at a stage where they are easily influenced and they want to act like an adult (P-41M; Q13).

Teenagers want to experiment with new things such as drinking and smoking etc (P-7F; Q14).

Many participants felt that experimenting with alcohol at a younger age prepared adolescents for what lay ahead when they were older and at a legal age to consume alcohol. Participants 11 and 36 summed it up in the following way, when they suggested that alcohol consumption at an early age is actually beneficial in a way:

It is teenagers' right to slowly but surely experiment because when they will do it when they are legal, they will go overboard and will not be able to handle it. It is good to start drinking at school already, otherwise when you go to university, you will lose control every evening and just get stupid and fat and become an alcoholic (P-3M; Q15).

It teaches teenagers from an early age to handle drinking so that they will not go crazy when they are 18 years old. It teaches them responsibility (P-36M; Q16).

The view was that the more one drinks the more self-confidence one gets, and the more entertaining one becomes. Participants 15M and 38M felt the same as many others when they explained that adolescents consume alcohol because they are young and want to enjoy themselves:

I do not believe that all teenagers drink for the same reasons. A person can divide it into groups. Those who drink because they like the feel of it, those who drink to attract attention, those who drink because of bereavement and those who drink to be social...

most fall in the social-group. Alcohol destroys prejudice which makes it easier to talk to new people and to be honest with friends (P-15M; Q17).

I think most teenagers drink to be rebellious and to experience a feeling of pleasure (P-38M; Q18).

Participants 13F and 55F did, however, express their concern that many adolescents were not able to enjoy themselves without being under the influence of alcohol:

It is as if they cannot enjoy themselves and others without drugs or alcohol (P-13F; Q19).

Most teenagers drink because they want to be popular and to have a good time at a party. Teenagers do not notice that they do not have to drink to have fun (P-55F; Q20).

Many adolescents mentioned that they engaged in illegal acts or consumed alcohol because it was prohibited to do so, and they view this as enough reason to engage in excessive drinking behaviour. Participant 10F (Q21) discusses this:

I think the reason why teenagers drink is because it is illegal. Some want to drink because they are not allowed to yet. The older you get the more boring it gets and when you turn 18, it is not such a big deal anymore.

A female participant shared a personal story about this specific phase of adolescence and how it can sometimes be very hard:

Alcohol amongst teenagers is inevitable and I cannot wait for this stage of life to be over and to meet people that is not as cruel as teenagers (P017M; Q22).

4.2.2.2 Peer pressure

Most participants shared stories about how peer pressure and wanting to be popular were a motivation for adolescents to engage in drinking behaviour. The participants described the influence of peer pressure as a reason to consume alcohol:

It is usually peer pressure or peer choices that start it all (P-2F; Q23).

It is the popular thing these days for teenagers to go past their limits when it comes to parties. In most cases, they try to impress their friends. 'Kuier, kuier, kuier', to me it

seems that when they hear that word, they start focussing only on alcohol...one always wanting to drink stronger drinks than the other... (P-12M; Q24)

Participant 67F also shared a story about peer pressure and why it serves as a motivation to engage in binge drinking when friends are together:

There are many reasons why school going kids drink, yet the main reason is peer pressure. In such a materialistic society, kids want to fit in. They want to be accepted, so if the next best thing is drinking every weekend, then that is what they will do.

Themes such as being popular and “cool” stood out as the main reasons for adolescents to engage in binge drinking behaviour. Several adolescents believed that the need to fit in and belong to a certain crowd persuaded many to consume alcohol:

The problem was that they think it is cool to drink and that is what normal teenagers do (P-57M; Q25).

Teenagers drink a lot just to fit in (P-58; Q26).

It seems that adolescents easily shame others who will not consume alcohol at social events. One participant shared a story about how those who consume alcohol would call others “lame” or “losers” if they did not want to drink.

The big question at a “kuier” is why don’t you drink? If you do drink, why is it such a light drink? Boys have to drink strong drinks such as whisky or brandy and no lighter drinks such as ciders that the girls drink, otherwise you are seen as a “moffie²” (P-18F; Q27)

²The word “moffie” is a word that stigmatises the person as being gay or homosexual. It is often used in this context. The strict meaning of the word is “homosexual”. In this context, it is used as an insult. Particularly males use this word and the word is used in a particular way.

An element of competition between who can drink the most and the fastest, was also noted in their stories. This element of competition is derived from peer pressure and wanting to be “cool”, to be accepted by the group. Participants 23M and 13F noted the following:

Most teenagers are sort of not used to alcohol and they don't mind the fact that you have to take it slowly. For many teenagers it is a competition to see who can get the drunkest the fastest...at 'kuier' alcohol is drunk like cooldrinks, and if there is alcohol you feel obliged to drink just to fit in (P-23M; Q28).

Teenagers usually gets drunk only at 'kuiers'... that is an opportunity to show what they have done and to show how much you can drink, to get a girl and to show that you can smoke a lot of weed without getting high (P-13F; Q29).

4.2.2.3 Emotional hardships

It all became too hectic for him... he had no one to turn to...no friends, his parents were far away as well as his girlfriend...because of this negative pressure on him, he could not take it anymore. He broke up with her and there were no one to support him except alcohol...the boy became a drunkard (P-22M; Q30).

This above-mentioned statement indicates how emotional turmoil and difficult circumstances may lead to adolescents engaging in binge drinking. The participant, along with numerous others, such as participant 30M and 51M, stated that many teenagers were going through a difficult time at home and were often so emotionally unstable that they turned to alcohol:

Another effect of alcohol, not only in adult life, but also in teenagers', is when they become emotional. Some teenagers drink when they are sad (P-30M; Q31).

The people who drink because they want attention and those who drink because they are unhappy, usually goes hand in hand. If people are unhappy at home, many times they would be the irritating ones because they only want love and attention (P-51M; Q32).

Drinking in order to erase memories of frightening things, or to cope with stress and other problems, surfaced while the learners were sharing stories about the emotional aspect of heavy drinking:

They see it as a way to forget about everything, all of their problems and financial issues or schoolwork. Children must know that it is not their worries...money is their parents' worry and schoolwork...you have to go through it...otherwise where will you end up in life? (P-55F; Q33)

If you ask a teenager why they are drinking, they will tell you because they have problems (P-73F; Q34).

One learner shared that several teenagers believed that if they drank a lot their problems would go away, and some even used their problems as an excuse to drink heavily. He explained:

"today's young people use alcohol as an excuse to resolve problems" (P-75F; Q35).

...and then they think they can drink away their problems (P-77F; Q36).

Participants 11F and 29F shared opinions about the many stressors that rest on the shoulders of teenagers, which may indicate that they are under a lot of pressure at school and at home, and that sometimes they just want to escape to a place without any stress:

I personally think that teenagers drink due to the pressure on them. SCHOOL, SPORT, PARENTS, and they only want to escape (P-11F; Q37).

I think teenagers just want to escape from their circumstances and just be happy for a small while, that is why they drink and use drugs. Most of my friends have depression or bad circumstances at home. I do not blame them if they feel that they want to escape. During puberty, your hormones are running circles around the earth. They feel depressed, sad, rejected etc. Alcohol can help you escape from that reality, and for a little while, make them forget about all the bad stuff in life (P-29F; Q38).

It was noted that the learners clearly felt that the specific phase of life in which they found themselves, particularly the tough times they were experiencing, were reason enough to engage in binge drinking. Some, however, suggested that adolescents use emotional problems too easily as an excuse to justify binge drinking behaviour.

4.2.3 Narratives of parental enabling

Several stories were collected about parental influence on adolescents' binge drinking behaviour. Most of the stories included some perspectives about the roles of the parents and

how the parents affect the behaviour, positive and negative, of adolescents. One summarised the overall position of parents, from the essays, about binge drinking:

The society is getting out of control. All that you hear on a Monday is how drunk or high everyone was. Teenagers spend a lot of their pocket money on alcohol and cigarettes. And they do not drink because it is nice, they get drunk. And it is not every now and again, it happens every weekend... and parents do not know. Parents think their children are angels (p-76M; Q39).

4.2.3.1 Parental monitoring

Participants mentioned several times that parents are unaware of their adolescents' whereabouts or they are not bothered by the adolescents' behaviour. It is notable that often when adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour, the parents are at home in a different room or busy with their own entertainment. Many participants supported the view that mostly parents are at home and busy with their own schedules whilst binge drinking takes place in their houses:

The parents are there, but they do not know what is happening...the dad of the boy whose house it was were there but he was watching TV and he could not see what was happening (P-2F; Q40).

Participant 12M stated that it would be better for adolescents' parents not to know who their friends are. He wrote:

Your parents may never know with who you are chilling (P-12M; Q41).

Several participants reported that parents were not monitoring adolescents:

Parents and teachers are not as well informed as they think they are. The cutest girl and the most innocent teenagers drank at least once at a 'kuier'. Parents will not notice anything and children will get away with that (P-36M; Q42).

4.2.3.2 Examples set by parents

Several adolescents were of the view that the examples of binge drinking behaviour are set by parents and those who are supposed to be responsible caretakers. Participant 31M (Q43) stated the following about the examples set by parents:

There are teenagers who have seen parents so drunk and who seen stuff they are not supposed to see. Some learners see these things and remember it and some think that they want to experience the same as their parents.

This behaviour of the parents enables and even motivates them to take part in binge drinking behaviour. One participant even stated that the parents are the main cause of some adolescents engaging in binge drinking behaviour. He wrote the following:

Parents today are the primary cause of teenagers who drink. They see what their parents do and it look like fun, so they also want to try it. Monkey see, monkey do... (P-56M; Q44).

Participant 36M (Q45) further explained the influence of parents on adolescents' binge drinking behaviour:

Some teenagers drink because their parents drink. If the parent is a bad role model and do not teach the child that he can only drink when he is old enough, then they will learn how to drink at a young age. The worst is that sometimes parents teach children how to drink; therefore, the teenagers need good parents who will teach them the right things.

Participant 72M (Q46) shared a story about the role of parents, as well as the examples set by them, suggesting that many parents are aware of their children's drinking, but they themselves engage in heavy drinking:

There are parents who know their children are drinking a lot. Most of those parents are involved and sit and watch TV while teenagers are going on. Parents would rather prefer children drinking in front of them than behind their backs. Other parents even give their children two Vodka shots because they are heavy drinkers themselves. Most teenagers develop drinking behaviour because their parents drink in front of them.

4.2.3.3 Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents

The data from this study seems to suggest that parents play an important role in their children's drinking behaviour. Numerous stories were told indicating perceptions that adolescents engage easily in binge drinking, especially when parents are aware and even purchasing the alcohol for adolescents. Participant 17F (Q47) mentioned the following:

Her parents know she drinks. When a child grows up with parents who drink or is in the company of others who drink a lot, she will tend to do the same and also make the wrong choices. My one friend's mother buys alcohol for him and allows him to drink at her house. She even allows them to drink different types of shots.

Participant 63F was upset about some parents' behaviour and the primary role of parents:

I have seen children under 16 drink Vodka like it is water and then upon asking I have been told their parents give it to them. Parents of all people...aren't parents supposed to protect you, teach you right from wrong?

Children drink with their parents and have control over their parents, because there are no rules and order in that house (P-62M; Q48).

Stories about the role of parents stood out as a big issue raised by the participants. Most participants clearly felt that many parents are to blame for adolescents engaging in binge drinking behaviour – either through purchasing alcohol for them, not monitoring and showing no interest in what their children do, or setting bad examples.

4.2.4 Narratives of consequence

The adolescents shared numerous stories about the consequences of engaging in binge drinking. These stories included themes of the different effects of binge drinking on adolescents, sexual promiscuity and physical effects such as feeling sick.

4.2.4.1 Effects of binge drinking

Sexual promiscuity

Many adolescents shared stories about the effects of excessive alcohol consumption on behaviour, especially linked to values and sexual behaviour. Participant 1F (Q49) wrote:

Alcohol reduces your inhibitions and can make you do something that you would not have done otherwise. There are no wrong or right when you are under the influence of alcohol and there are no feelings of guilt and that little voice in your head that warns you, starts becoming softer and softer...

She further continued by sharing a story about some of the physical effects of binge drinking:

Many girls have blamed alcohol for their unwanted pregnancies or when they get HIV or STD's (Q50).

This specific adolescent felt that alcohol could not be blamed for lowered inhibitions and behaviour that is contradictory to one's values and that low self-control should rather be blamed.

Participant 38M (Q51) stated: *"teenage drinking leads to people making out and doing other sexual deeds because they are under the influence"*.

Another participant shared that youngsters were being exposed to things they should not be doing. She stated:

Parents were called by the authorities and children were blamed for things that some parents would never believe their children will do (P-7F; Q52).

Participant 29F (Q53) stated:

Alcohol causes that people lose their inhibitions and they are very vulnerable and their moral values decrease. The chance of having sex is very big, especially at a 'kuier' where there is alcohol and sex-obsessed teenagers. The chances of teenage pregnancies also increase, because they are with their true loves and they forget to use a condom or don't think about the consequences at that moment.

Teenage drinking is shocking. Like most teenagers get so drunk that they have no control and they do the stupidest things like sex and getting pregnant (P-57M; Q54).

Many participants shared stories about how alcohol consumption leads to sexual interaction with the opposite sex. Participant 13F (Q55) explained it as follows:

As the evening continues and most teenagers have gone home, the small group of teenagers left, start looking for something interesting to do and this is usually where the trouble happens. If you haven't made out with a girl, then that is the time to choose a girl who you would not have made out with usually. She is usually the only girl left. The later the evening, the more desperate the boys and girls become.

I have heard about a girl who hallucinated and thought she was a banana. She started taking her clothes off and telling others that she is a banana who peels herself (P-18F; Q56).

Physical feelings / Being sick

In addition to alcohol consumption leading to inappropriate sexual behaviour, many participants shared stories about the physical effects of alcohol and feeling sick after heavy drinking. Numerous participants mentioned knowing about “hangovers”:

Some know that when their heads are out of control, things happen and are being said like never before. Then some get the thing with the name, Hang-over (P-12M; Q57).

Stories were told about how adolescents seldom know when to stop. Participant 18F (Q58) shared that: “most teenagers do not know where to stop and where to draw the line...when he came to the bathroom...he puked everywhere”.

In addition, they shared stories about being sick and nauseous and participant 25M (Q59) shared how this behaviour is very off-putting:

...then she threw up... she was always pretty, but after that incident I would never look at her the same way.

Some reported that by the time the ‘kuiers’ start, many adolescents would already be under the influence and have had too much to drink:

The ‘kuiers’ begins at 8 and if you get there at 8, there will already be children on the grass busy puking or they have drunk so much that they passed out and is now lying in their own puke (P-29F; Q60).

Seeing friends drunk and disoriented seemed to be traumatic to some participants:

The one child's eyes started turning back in her head and she went into some sort of shock. It was very bad to experience (P-39M; Q61).

Participant 42M (Q62) also mentioned a story about the effect of alcohol: “

...alcohol previously caused that people would have to go to hospital...both were so drunk, one made it through but the other one's body went into shock because the two shared a bottle of Vodka in 5 minutes.

It is evident that adolescents remember what others looked like and what they were up to when they were binge drinking. To many this was not a pretty picture, although many reasons were given why they think behaviour like that is common among adolescents.

4.2.5 Narratives of performativity: Masculinity and femininities

The Grade 11 learners shared many stories with themes of masculinity and femininity. There was a noticeable difference when exploring boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour, as well as the different effects binge drinking has on the boys' and girls' behaviour respectively.

4.2.5.1 Difference between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour

Various narratives about gender differences and binge drinking were identified in the essays written by the Grade 11 learners. It is interesting to note that most male participants agreed on the common differences between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour.

Most participants stated that boys begin to drink at a younger age than girls. Both male and female participants mentioned that boys would start first and then the girls would follow.

At that age boys will start drinking and girls will start from grade 10. According to me, girls get hooked onto alcohol quicker than boys (P-6M; Q63).

It is boys who will first take alcohol to a “kuier” and when time passes the girls get more relaxed and in many cases they will drink more than the boys (P-15M; Q64).

It was interesting to note that both genders felt that when boys engage in binge drinking they are seen as leaders of the group – popular guys who are encouraged to drink more. However, several stories stated that when girls engaged in binge drinking, they are easily judged and seen as “common”. The following participants explained their perceptions:

It is a weekend thing for boys. Every weekend, come rain or sunshine, there will be drinking taking place to show who can drink the most...who is the alpha male or who is only part of the wolf cubs. The boy, who drinks the most, is seen as that group's leader and he has status. Girls are being judged based on their drinking habits whilst boys are being cheered on (P-1F; Q65).

Girls are getting judged where boys are being cheered on (P-20M; Q66).

General conclusions throughout the stories narrate that boys drink more in quantity than girls do. It was also noted that boys drink more to gain self-confidence, to engage in conversation with girls or even sexual interaction (see next section). Both male and female participants supported their views:

Boys definitely drink more than girls. It is actually irritating when a girl drinks because they only do it to impress the boys and they boys drink to gain more self-confidence (P-33M; Q67).

Boys will drink more than girls to gain more confidence and to speak to girls easier. Girls are different...they drink so that they can easier make out with boys. Or the more general reason why they drink is that they don't care and they want to get a nice feeling. Boys drink to get girls or they try to get a specific girl drunk enough so that she will make out with him (P-34M; Q68).

It seems that girls are more sensitive to the consequences of binge drinking and engaging in behaviour that will get them into trouble:

Girls are more concerned about what their parents would say than boys. When a boy is drunk, he doesn't care what he does or say even if it is in front of his parents (P-14M; Q69).

According to both genders, there are enormous differences between male and female binge drinking, the reasons for it and the effects of binge drinking on behaviour. It was evident that the boys all felt the same towards girls and that the girls all had mutually identical opinions about boys and binge drinking.

4.2.5.2 Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys

The participants had very strong thoughts about the different effects of binge drinking on the different genders. The boys shared stories indicating that girls “change” or act strangely when consuming alcohol:

Girls do strange things!!! Girls become touchier and want to make out and they will give long hugs and rub against you when they walk past. They will also laugh and talk a lot. Boys also want to make out – they will constantly touch a girl or will push her in a playful manner and they threaten anyone who looks at them askance (P-5M; Q70).

I don't think there is a big difference between boys and girls drinking behaviour... but teenager girls are different... they will start doing things that you cannot believe and they do stuff that I don't want to write down because it not appropriate and that is when they get quiet and flirt...you also get the ones who cannot stop laughing and who even wet themselves (P-12M; Q71).

In agreement with many other girls was participant 7F (Q72), who shared that boys often become aggressive when under the influence of alcohol:

Some dudes become aggressive and it may lead to a fight, which is very dangerous.

There is a definite difference...some boys become aggressive and girls become different... (P-26M; Q73)

Both boys and girls noted the big difference when it comes to the effects of alcohol on behaviour. The girls noted that many boys' behaviour changes, and not only do they become aggressive but they are also much more interested in girls and engaging in sexual behaviour, as well as seeking sexual attention from girls:

There is a big difference between girls and boys. Boys fight often...the girl was so drunk that she had sex with a stranger...those are things that destroy peoples' reputation. Some boys get so drunk that they will flirt with any girl and satisfy their needs...same with some girls as well... (P-11F; Q74)

Interesting stories were shared about the limits of boys' and girls' drinking. Both genders felt that although boys can drink more than girls can, girls are most often unable to control themselves and often go overboard when consuming alcohol.

Most boys can watch their limits when it comes to alcohol, but with girls there are no stopping when they drink. Most girls cannot be themselves when they are under the influence of alcohol (P-53; Q75).

I don't actually see the difference between boys and girls drinking behaviour... it is usually the girls who cannot handle alcohol (P-7F; Q76).

One female participant shared that boys tend to engage in drinking to get girls drunk in order to take advantage of them:

Boys drink because they want to be rebellious and they want to make trouble and they want to get the girls drunk so that they can take advantage of them. When boys get drunk, they become more aggressive and sexual and when girls get drunk they become silly, giggling and also more sexual (P-29F; Q77).

Many perspectives were shared on the differences between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour. Some stories elicited strong emotions and stereotypical conclusions about certain acts happening when engaging in binge drinking, such as boys wanting to take advantage of girls and boys engaging in aggressive behaviour.

4.2.6 Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents

Participants shared various opinions and stories about the effectiveness and value of prevention and intervention programmes. However, many felt that prevention programmes should include educating adolescents about the effects of binge drinking, while interventions should include parents. The following sub-sections present different stories and opinions on binge drinking in general, as well as possible prevention and intervention programmes.

4.2.6.1 Insights into binge drinking behaviour

According to participant 13F (Q78), many adolescents do not see the true effects of binge drinking on relationships and how it can negatively influence oneself and the people around one:

Alcohol damages relationships with friends and loved ones because some things happen without thinking about it...alcohol has a terrible effect on teenagers' personal life and it happens with half of the class... it must end...

To participant 14M (Q79) it seems as if adolescents are inconsiderate about the influence of their drinking on their own behaviour and that of others:

Teenagers don't care about binge drinking – all that matters is that they have drink and that they are drunk.

Participant 59M (Q80) showed confusion as to why adolescents keep drinking when they are well aware of the consequences and what can happen to others when under the influence of alcohol:

Teenagers see what happens when they are under the influence of alcohol but they don't want to listen. I look at it; I cannot understand why they keep on drinking so much when they are already drunk.

Mixed opinions and stories were shared and showed different perspectives of and insights into binge drinking. It was evident that although numerous adolescents are aware of the consequences, they still tend to engage in risky drinking behaviour as part of experimenting and being in a certain phase of life.

4.2.6.2 Prevention and intervention programmes

Diverse stories about possible prevention and intervention programmes were shared. Although some participants stated that prevention and intervention programmes would be useless, several did feel the need for such programmes.

Stories of intervention suggested that such programmes should focus on educating young people about the negative effects of alcohol and how it can damage working functions such as livers, kidneys and even thinking skills:

Intervention should entail informing young people about the disadvantages of alcohol like it kills your brain cells and it can cause damage to your kidneys (P-30F; Q81).

However, many shared that it was necessary, but that adolescents would not listen or adhere to such programmes. Participant 7F (Q82) said that alcohol had become such a big part of their society that it would be difficult to stop binge drinking among teenagers:

I think it is necessary but I don't think that teenagers would listen to advice. Teenagers are so comfortable with alcohol and when they turn 18 it would make no difference. Alcohol is such a big part of their lives that I don't know if they can be helped out of it.

4.2.6.3 How adolescents will stop engaging in binge drinking behaviour

Participant 8F (Q83) felt that changes in attitudes to binge drinking required learners to encourage one another and make differences to their friends' lives:

We must start making a difference in our friends' lives. Tell them what people think about that. We can make a difference in the world if we motivate each other.

Stopping binge drinking will not necessarily be effective, but adolescents need to be warned against the dangers of engaging in such behaviour. Participant 37F (Q84) stated the following:

Binge drinking is happening more and more and teenagers should be warned against the side-effects in the future and the causes.

4.2.6.4 Role of parents

Several adolescents shared insights as to how binge drinking should be addressed and whether intervention programmes would be effective. Many felt that the only way of addressing this issue would be to obtain parents' support and get them on board such programmes. Participant 29F (Q85) supported the argument that parents should be involved:

The only way to prevent it is to get parents involved to teach their children about having values and not laying down too many restrictions. In most cases binge drinking takes place out of curiosity and because it was a taboo thing which they were not allowed to experience.

Participant 30M (Q86) felt that intervention programmes should include parental guidance:

Interventions should also talk to parents and keep an eye on them so that they won't easily give alcohol to their children at their own houses and they must hide it from their kids. If there are teenagers whose parents are drinking heavily, someone should talk to them.

Table 4.2 sums up the differences and similarities between the boys' and girls' content in the essays.

Table 4.2

Differences and Similarities between Boys' and Girls' Essays Content

| Narratives | SIMILARITIES | | DIFFERENCES | |
|--|---|---|---|-------|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both genders felt that binge drinking is part of the phase of adolescence. The boys and the girls agreed that many adolescents engage in binge drinking to deal with emotional hardships. Having a need to fit in Preparing to go to university or college after school | | | |
| Parental enabling | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents do not know what is happening right under their noses | | | |
| Consequence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls start acting strangely Sexual behaviour | | | |
| Performative masculinities and feminities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boys start drinking at a younger age Boys tend to get aggressive when consuming alcohol Girls are judged more easily | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls drink to kiss more boys Girls do not know their limits Girls do things that they would not usually do when under the influence of alcohol | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boys drink to take advantage of girls | |

Table 4.2 *continued*

| SIMILARITIES | | | DIFFERENCES | |
|--|------|--|-------------|--|
| Narratives | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | • | Parents should be involved in prevention and intervention programmes | | • Young people should be educated about the negative effects of binge drinking |

SECTION B: THEMES AND CATEGORIES OF FOCUS GROUPS

Table 4.3

Summary of Themes and Categories – Girls' Focus Group

| THEMES | CATEGORIES |
|--|--|
| Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | Adolescence as a phase of life Peer pressure Emotional hardships |
| Narratives of parental enabling | Examples of parents Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents |
| Narratives of consequence | Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity Negative influence on relationships |
| Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities | Difference between boys and girls binge drinking behaviour Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys Judging girls' drinking behaviour |
| Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | Intervention programmes |

4.3 EXPOSITION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings of the research will be presented according to the themes identified in Table 4.3. The themes include narratives of reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour, narratives of parental enabling, narratives of consequence, narratives of performative masculinities and femininities, and narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents. These themes emerged from the data analysis of the separate focus groups and formed the underlying perceptions of the adolescents who participated in the study. In the following sections, the content and process analysis of the separate groups will be discussed.

4.4 PROCESS ANALYSIS OF GIRLS' FOCUS GROUP

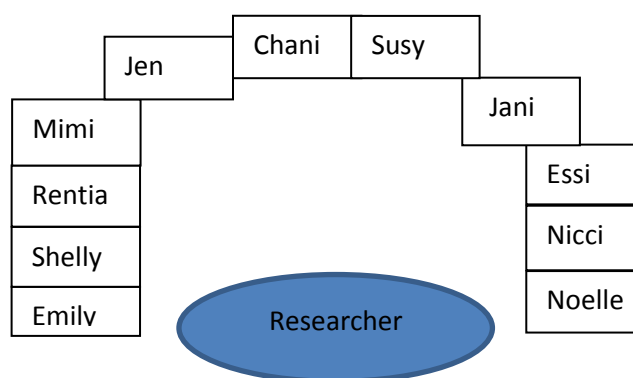


Figure 4.1 Seating arrangement in girls' focus group

The participants in this group were willing to take part and had many stories to share with the group about the different issues relating to binge drinking. The focus group was held in a media class where it was very quiet and no other people could see or hear anything happening. Initially the group tended to be more withdrawn, but as soon as the first few minutes passed, they all took part in the discussion. See personal reflections in extracts from my journal in Appendix G.

Figure 4.1 illustrates the seating arrangement of the girls in the focus group. Nicci stood out as the talker of the group and interrupted the other participants several times. She was eager to share her opinion and was not afraid to share what she thought about certain sensitive topics related to binge drinking. Chani was eager to share stories about the people she knows and even some stories about herself. I needed to remind her constantly not to refer to her own stories and to rather use pseudonyms. Shelly and Emily were very quiet. I included them by specifically asking their opinions about certain issues. They did not hesitate to share, but needed motivation

to speak in such a group of girls. Chani and Mimi had numerous different opinions of the discussions in the group. It was important to acknowledge conflict and discuss some misconceptions in the group.

This was a very interesting and diverse group of girls. They were not friends and did not know each other that well, although most were very willing to share stories. Emily, Noelle and Shelly held back sometimes and I noticed that at some points they did not agree with what was being said.

4.5 CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GIRLS' FOCUS GROUP

4.5.1 Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour

4.5.1.1 Adolescence as a phase of life

The discussion in the focus group with the girls indicated that engaging in binge drinking behaviour is part of being a teenager, and only a phase in which adolescents experiment with in various ways. Susy (Q87) stated the following:

Susy: I think...uhm like I can say to everyone now that alcohol is bad and we all know it is but the point is that we all want to experience it ourselves...and experience the phase that we are in...if I agree with Nicci, I also had very strict parents...they were like pastors...and everyone expect that if you are from a pastor household you cannot do anything, you may not have boyfriends, you may not drink, you must sit in front in church and there were a lot of pressures and the other family members and cousins come and say: " come with us, you never want to do something fun" and then I will go with but only sit there and watch them how they get LOSBANDIG and how they fall over the guys and make a fool of themselves only for the experience...and now...all of them are on the same level so when we go to college or university we know what is happening and we are past that phase...so I think basically...maybe it's just for the experience or only a phase...

Jani (Q88) supported her view of only experimenting while you are a teenager and consuming alcohol to have the experience:

Jani: You said that you think it is part of an adolescents' life, but I think every person is born with something in their brains that make them want to experience something... like alcohol... that happens most to teenagers because that is where you start growing

up and your hormones start working and it sometimes happen after school, but it is also kind of like a stereotype that it only happens to teenagers. You are born with a need to experience new things...

Several girls mentioned starting early to gain experience in order to be able to handle the pressures and spoke of the large amount of alcohol being consumed by learners after school. They felt it was better to start drinking now in order to learn the limits of consuming alcohol before going to university or college:

Jen (Q89): I think if you begin earlier and then when you go to university and everything is so new and wow and you want to try everything... then you had some exposure and know what is what and what will work for you and what don't and then you won't do foolish things

However, Mimi (Q90) shared that some people are just not capable of controlling their drinking habits, whether they started early or not:

Mimi: If you look at the matrices from 2012 and 2013, they all have started in grade 8... even others in other schools as well...they are still losing it...like they were before... they are losing it more and more and drink more because they can handle more alcohol... so no I don't think it is true that you have to start earlier...

Knowing one's limits was widely discussed in the focus group. Nicci (Q91) shared the following about knowing one's limits and being able to stop drinking:

Nicci: I think it is like getting a license if you are out of school and if you really want it so badly and if you have to....say like you haven't drunk before at school...then...like...if you are 18 and you can start drinking and doing it the whole time and you have a car so you'll also drive irresponsibly and you are drunk...you are more...like...you will know what your limit is like you can only drink 2 ciders and then...

4.5.1.2 Peer pressure

It seems that peer pressure has different connotations for the boys and girls who participated in the study. Mimi (Q92) stated that consuming alcohol is your own choice and that no one

actually cares whether you drink alcohol or anything else. However, she felt that peer pressure is different and has a greater effect on boys. She shared her opinion about peer pressure:

Mimi: I think it is totally your choice...because we have like uhm...I know 'n group of friends and the girls will always order a Latte and no one cares or worry about it...like...no one ever say: "Oh you must you must" ...because I think between girls...no one really cares whether you drink or not...your friends...because if you don't drink... "cool for you!" ...and if you drink... "so" ... but with boys it is different.

Rentia (Q93) even stated that some boys are dared to spike a girls' drink and that peer pressure plays a big role in how boys view themselves and other boys in their circle of friends:

It may also happen that some friends... like they dare other friends to spike a girls' drink...they are forced to do it and if you don't do it you are the one not fitting in...

Chani (Q94): I think it is not only friends who pressure each other...like I said...the older generation pressure the young ones to party with them and I also found that girls are stronger. They would rather be mature and say: I will not drink, because it will have bad consequences" where boys will say: "okay I am going to drink"

Nicci (Q95): Yes... he said it is the end of the year...after new year he is not going to drink again... (giggle) and he stopped for a whole while and now he stepped right into it again as they say... it is like they try but peer pressure amongst boys is so bad and everyone is just like: "oh now you want to get better..." I don't know...I think the dudes must just stop judging each other...

4.5.1.3 Emotional hardships

Emotional turmoil was given as a reason for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. However, two participants had contradictory opinions about boys and girls drinking due to emotional hardship. Emily especially mentioned that boys would engage in binge drinking because of difficult circumstances at home and bad families. Susy suggested that especially women consume alcohol to comfort themselves when going through difficult times:

Emily (Q96): Yes, but a lot of boys come from bad families and have difficult circumstances and stuff and it is their only way out to drink and stuff and they don't think they will get addicted or anything but they drink...

Susy (Q97): Okay, like they said that alcohol makes you feel nice...but I think as you get older especially women, uses alcohol as comfort and it is often the case and there are a lot of people around me who do that and they give in and as soon as they give in they take drugs and all other bad things and then you are in so deep that you don't know how to get out...

4.5.2 Narratives of parental enabling

4.5.2.1 Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents

The girls shared stories about parents purchasing and providing alcohol for their adolescent children. Nicci felt it is better for parents to purchase alcohol in order to know what their children are consuming and how much. She also felt that if parents were too strict, teenagers would rebel and consume alcohol without parents knowing:

Nicci (Q98): Well, I have like two...one of my friends' parents will buy alcohol for her and that will be all that she will drink that evening...only like two ciders...and that is what she drinks...then she won't drink something else...and her parents know that is all she drinks and she won't get drunk...And then there are other parents who say their children may not have anything to drink and if they smell them then... the person will be much more rebellious only to show that they will drink and what they can do when they are drunk and do all kinds of things that is wrong. So I think there are parents who allow their children to drink just to make sure that they only have a certain amount of drink...

Essi (Q99) agreed that some adolescents would even blackmail parents into giving them permission to consume alcohol:

Essi: I think really...there are people who are blackmailing their parents... I will be honest if I say I have done it before...like saying: "If you don't allow it, I will drink more and experiment even more" ...and so on... I think it is a big thing...teenagers blackmailing their parents...

Numerous girls felt that respect plays a big role in whether the parents would give permission for the children to drink at parties or when they can go out. Jen (Q100) stated the following:

Jen: I think a lot...like many parents don't realise that if they allow their children to 'kuier' at home...I think the parents feel that they have more control over their children

although they actually don't have...I think it can go both ways but I think a lot of those children feel they respect them and if they go out and aren't with their parents, they will be more responsible because they feel their parents have seen that they can be responsible and they have enough respect for them...

Jani (Q101) did not agree with parents purchasing or providing alcohol for their teenagers. She said the following:

Jani: I don't think that parents must give alcohol to their children...they must just say: "be responsible" because if you get like drunk with your parents, what respect do you really have for them...

4.5.2.2 Examples set by parents

The participants shared stories about the example set by parents these days and how those examples influence and play a role in adolescent binge drinking behaviour. Riana (Q102) felt strongly that parents and other family members are setting bad examples by binge drinking and teenagers will follow their example:

Riana: I think that is why most teenagers start at an early age to experiment. It is because they are more exposed through their parents and older brothers, cousins and stuff... so that is why they sort of go overboard...

Nicci (Q103) supported her view but mentioned the opposite: that teenagers who are raised with values will respect their parents and do the right things:

Nicci: But my mom was like that and I am not going overboard....so it is also like...if your mother raised you with the right values then you will also sort of do the right thing...

4.5.3 Narratives of consequence

4.5.3.1 Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity

The participants agreed that engaging in binge drinking behaviour led to unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV. However, some felt that one would always

know what one is doing, even under the influence of alcohol. Jani (Q104) shared her perspective:

Jani: I think in a case like that, where they get drunk and do drugs or get like... get pregnant or so... I don't think... I really think you must know on some level what you are doing... I don't think there is ever a time where you don't know anything about what you are doing... like you have a radar that you use to tell you when you are doing something wrong so that you will always know what you are doing... uhm... and I think some people ignore that so they think: "I am drunk so I can use that as an excuse if something happens" while they anyway know what can happen while they are doing it...

4.5.3.2 Negative influence on relationships

The break-up of relationships was another issue raised by the focus group when discussing binge drinking. Susy (Q105) stated the following about alcohol and the influence on relationships:

Susy: I actually uhm ... a story about my friend ... she once ... it's also peer pressure ...one day when she was younger and was very drunk and like in a circle and well... and her best friend liked this one guy and later the girl became so drunk that she no longer tried to be a matchmaker, and she flirted with the guy ... and then later in front of her best friend, made out with the guy... that nearly ended a relationship between....

Nicci (Q106): Uhm I think... well definitely relationships ending...like I have seen it so much before...then she tells the guy: "You have a girlfriend" then its just like: "Oh yes..."

4.5.4 Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities

4.5.4.1 Differences between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour

It was evident that the girls had strong opinions about how boys change when under the influence of alcohol, as well as boys' motives for engaging in binge drinking. Many girls felt that boys only consume alcohol to "show off" and impress the girls, and to show that they can drink and handle large amounts of alcohol. A discussion followed about the difference between boys' and girls' drinking behaviour:

Nicci (Q107): I think that boys who drink a lot want to show off in front of their friends. I don't know...girls do it to enjoy themselves and I think guys do it more to show that they are macho...like they can also drink...

Essi (Q108): (interrupts) Girls have enough attitude to say...

Nicci (Q109): Yes...like to say no I don't want to...like my friends as well...they will like say if they don't want to...but boys will only do it to show that they are mature and can be manly...

Researcher: So it is difficult for boys to say no...

Mimi (Q110): With girls...we accept it like if you say no...then it's like... 'ooh okay'... but with the boys then they are like... 'ah you are not a man...who are you now...'

Chani (Q111): It is like a thing...if girls say they don't want to drink it is fine but boys are like you are saying now...you are not a man...

Nicci (Q112): Yes, like I know... I have heard some people have boy friends who made a bet who can make out with the most girls on one evening in Plett... but when girls make out with more than two boys they are slutty... it's an accomplishment for boys...

Many girls felt that it is an achievement for boys to drink, but when girls drink, it is easily frowned upon. Mimi (Q113), however, shared a story that girls want to drink more sometimes to show that they can handle drinking and to show some sort of maturity when they consume large amounts of alcohol. She stated:

Mimi: I know a person, I think she's 2nd year or 1st year ... and she told me that girls sometimes like to have competitions to see if the girls can drink more than the guys ... and then the guys are like " Oh, she can take her drink ... " and then they like her more ... like sometimes when girls cannot take their drinks it is like, " Okay, but she's still

young ... " and things like that ... " she's immature " and " she cannot yet 'kuier' with the older people..."

4.5.4.2 Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys

The participants stated that there was a difference between how drinking influenced boys and girls. These girls felt that girls are gigglier and emotional, crying easily. They also agreed that the boys wanted to do something that was not allowed, like challenging the rules and losing some of their inhibitions, especially when it came to sexual behaviour. The following discussion reflects some of the girls' opinions about the different effects of alcohol on boys and girls:

Nicci (Q114): (interrupts) ...look there are different ways...in which girls change...you can...you can like experience weird emotions or cry constantly...

Nicci (Q115): ...or laugh the whole time...or you can become touchier or just make out with everyone or just go to sleep....

Chani (Q116): (interrupts)... I agree with that...but I also think that guys also become promiscuous...and if women drink...and they don't even have to do anything, only because they are young, people easily say: "you are flirting with other men", but if the guys do it then it is okay...and girls don't actually become promiscuous...I think they become...they only become friendly...

4.5.4.3 Judging girls' drinking behaviour

There was a consensus among the girls that when girls engaged in binge drinking behaviour, others judged them too easily. It was evident to them that once a girl was labelled a drinker it was very hard to lose that label. Jani started the following conversation about girls and heavy drinking:

Jani (Q117): I know girls that...okay girls who are in Grade 11 and a girl who is in matric and stuff...one night we saw that she drank a little bit too much and everyone judged her so badly but the ones younger than her also drank and she is judged only because she drinks in that circle of friends and group...and if you get drunk once, then you have that name...like they just keep on judging that person...

Chani (Q118): If you are a guy and you are 18 and you don't drink then you are judged because you don't drink...if you are a girl and you are 18 and then you are judged

because it is expected of you to be responsible...you are 18 now and you must go study...and if you go drinking, then you are irresponsible...

Jani (Q119): I think with stuff like... girls don't only get judged when they are drunk...like if you walk around with a bottle people will say: "oh look how cool you are trying to be" ...you don't need to be drunk to be judged...

Most of the girls in the group felt very strongly that the world looks differently at a girl who consumes alcohol than at a boy who does, and that some things are allowed for boys because they are male, and that drinking heavily is often seen as an achievement. However, when a girl does the same, she is seen as bad or called bad names for doing so. The following conversation indicated how the girls felt about this issue:

Mimi (Q120): ...or if the boy vomits from alcohol it is like: "oh he threw up", but if a girl does it then it is like: "you are a slut...jis you are common" ...

Nicci (Q121): You laugh at the guys who get drunk but if a girl gets drunk then you are just like: "slut" ...

Zani (Q122): Yes, like as guys make out with two girls it is nothing but when girls make out with two boys they are seen as a slut...

4.5.5 Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents

4.5.5.1 Intervention programmes

The overall feeling about the use of intervention and prevention programmes was negative in this group. Most girls shared that in their opinion an intervention programme would not work because it would not make a difference as to whether adolescents decided to drink or not. Mimi (Q123) shared the following:

Mimi: If I can use an example like global warming...there are so many people who warn you about global warming and telling you what to do and what not to do... nobody cares!! I mean I have seen it before... like if they talk about alcohol in Biology and nobody cares...I think it is like that...like you have said just now...

However, some mentioned that intervention programmes would work if they were interesting, as Susy (Q124) stated:

Susy: ... but you still care...maybe they should make prevention programmes more interesting...

Table 4.4

Summary of Themes and Categories – Boys' Focus Group

| THEMES | CATEGORIES |
|--|--|
| Narratives of nature and extent of binge drinking | Defining binge drinking Details of where and how binge drinking takes place Gaining access to alcohol Binge drinking starting age |
| Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | Adolescence as a phase of life Peer pressure Emotional hardships Rebellion |
| Narratives of parental enabling | Parental monitoring Examples by parents Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents |
| Narratives of consequence | Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity and physical effects of consuming alcohol |
| Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities | Difference between boys and girls binge drinking behaviour Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys Boys' rebellion |
| Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | Intervention programmes How adolescents will stop engaging in binge drinking behaviour Role of parents |

4.6 PROCESS ANALYSIS OF BOYS' FOCUS GROUP

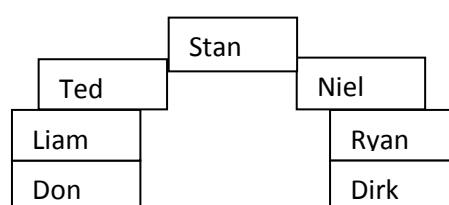




Figure 4.2. Seating arrangements of boys' focus group

The boys' focus group was held in a classroom and the discussion lasted one hour. The boys were full of jokes and enjoyed laughing at some of the stories and situations. This focus group was much "lighter" than the girls' focus group. It seemed that the boys struggled to dig deeper and talk about more serious issues pertaining to binge drinking behaviour. It was noticeable that I had to prompt the boys many times for more stories and perspectives on some issues. The boys gave short answers and only one or two shared stories on every issue or topic. See personal reflections in extracts from my journal in Appendix G.

Figure 4.2 illustrates the seating arrangement of the boys in the focus group. There were different groups noticeable within this focus group. It seemed that Nic and Don were good friends and often supported each other when discussing certain topics. Ryan seemed to be very responsible and it was important to him and Dirk to highlight the role of values and respect when it came to parents and binge drinking behaviour. Niel spoke a lot and was willing to share many stories. I had to invite Ted to share his views because he was very quiet and sat furthest away. Although Louis was sitting right next to me, he was very reserved and did not speak much. He is more of an observer, but when asked was willing to share his perspective.

4.6.1 Narratives of nature and extent of binge drinking

4.6.1.1 Defining binge drinking

The boys in the focus group shared that binge drinking entailed drinking until you are incapable of being awake. They also stated that binge drinking and passing out depended on various things, such as how fit a person is and how big or small a person is. Niel shared that binge drinking happens when one does not know one's limit. Therefore, it is better to know how much one can drink in order to keep binge drinking from being obvious.

Ryan (Q125): It is when you pass out... (other boys laugh)

Niel (Q126): I think everyone has their own way of describing it but say for instance someone who don't drink a lot: "okay I can only drink like 3 beers then I know I must stop otherwise it will get ugly", and another person like say they drink a lot more and think okay... so you must actually know your limit...

4.6.1.2 Details of where and how binge drinking takes place

Many participants stated that some adolescents arrived at parties already under the influence of alcohol. They would "pre-party" at another place or at home and then go to the "kuier" where they would continue drinking. However, some believed that girls also consumed alcohol before the party started. Drinking before the party is seen as a kick-start for the evening:

Nic: Yes...

Ryan: Yeas...(laugh)

Stan: Not everyone...not everyone...

Nic: Most people think it is nice and others are half...

Researcher: So it gives a kickstart...

Ryan: Predrinks...

Don: Girls also do it...

4.6.1.3 Binge drinking starting age

According to the boys, binge drinking starts at the age of fourteen or fifteen years of age, when learners are in Grade 9. Ted (Q127) stated that:

Ted: I also heard that people start experimenting in Grade 9...

4.6.2 Narratives of the reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour

4.6.2.1 Adolescence as a phase of life

Being an adolescent can be challenging for some young people. These boys shared their perspectives on why they think adolescents engage in binge drinking, and how this specific

phase of life is linked with experimenting and going through different experiences. Liam (Q128) stated the following about being an adolescent and going through this life stage:

Liam: I think it is only a time in their lives through which everyone goes...you go through it...you are like drunk with friends some evenings and then you pass out...but it is for the memories...you won't... pass out every evening...

He further stated that it is only part of the experience:

Liam (Q129): Yes...but if you pass out like once, and you don't want to again because it is not nice...or you have experienced it already.

Several participants mentioned experimenting to get to know your limits. It seemed that the boys felt it important to know their limits when it comes to alcohol. Niel (Q130) shared his opinion:

Niel: My mom always said...every time someone drinks a lot and throw up, you lose a day in your life because if you think about it...the next day you cannot do anything and you just lay there...or you just sit and watch TV the whole day... you basically lose a productive day in your life...you literally lose.

The participants shared stories about being normal and engaging in binge drinking behaviour. They shared views on being a teenager and believed drinking to be a normal activity that prepares you for the future and for going to university. This group of boys, as well as the girls, shared stories about adolescents consuming alcohol to prepare themselves for university or college. The discussion below between Dirk, Niel, and Nic indicates their perceptions of drinking as preparation.

Dirk (Q131): Yes, you also want to know how it is...

Niel (Q132): I think if you don't learn how it is or what is, you'll be an adult or university student one day who wasn't exposed to those things and it will then be so awesome that you won't know if it is bad...

Dirk (Q133): (interrupts) then you won't know where to stop...

Niel (Q134): Yes, but you'll think it's not that bad and it's not like the devil and stuff, and then you...you won't be able to control yourself and won't be able to handle this freedom at once...and you will drop out in your first year of study or something...

4.6.2.2 Peer pressure

The participants stated that the role of peer pressure lessened, as they got older. They felt strongly that if someone forces someone else to drink so they can be friends, he is not worth having as a friend. These boys shared that real friends would not pressurise each other into consuming alcohol.

Dirk (Q135): I think that if you know who your true friends are and where you stand with them, then you don't have to worry...like in the beginning you want to be accepted by everyone...but these days...I don't know...

Niel (Q136): I never in my life heard of anyone that say: "if you don't drink this" or more indirectly if they say that, you are not welcome anymore...never...

Dirk (Q137): And say someone says to you: "drink this" ...and it is not your friends or something and then you just say: "no" and they will be like: Okay I understand"

Niel (Q138): They are actually losers if they say that to you...

However, Stan (Q139) shared that he thinks the person forcing someone to drink would only be cross for a few minutes:

Stan: I think there are many times where people like say do this and when a person says like no he doesn't want to, then it's like okay and then the other person is like angry for 5 minutes because he said he did not want to, but after some time it is fine because you can't stay angry if he doesn't want to do it.

They felt there is a difference between adolescents not willing to be friends with someone who does not drink and putting pressure on that person to drink, and between motivating someone to drink with a song or a toast. Nic (Q140) shared the following after the comment of the researcher:

Researcher: Let's name peer pressure something else... let's name it 'motivation' like 'down down down' or something...

Nic: But that is different...

Liam stated that it depended on whether adolescents wanted to be the "main man" or the popular one. His stories assumed that if someone wants to be the "main man", he will give in

eventually. Stan and Niel supported this by adding that it is difficult for adolescents when everyone else is doing it:

Liam (Q141): It depends if you want to be the man... if you want to prove that you can like....and if all your friends are sitting there and saying: 'Let's down', you probably are going to do it but...

Researcher (Q142): Then you give in...

Stan (Q143): Yes, but everyone does it...

Niel (Q144): Yes, everyone does it...no he just sits there...and he is like no.... then they are like: 'BUZKILL³!!!'

4.6.2.3 Emotional hardships

Nic and Niel shared that going through hard times in one's personal life may lead to adolescents engaging in binge drinking. Nic stated that adolescents would drink on weekends after they had received test papers or tasks in which they did not do well. Louis shared that some adolescents would not give emotional hardships as a pertinent reason why they engage in binge drinking, but often the people around them would know that is why they are drinking that much.

Nic (Q145): But there are some people who did badly in a test...then they will say no they want to 'kuier' this Saturday or something... so yes... people do that...

Louis (Q146): They won't just say they are drinking because of problems at home...but you can make your own conclusions...you can see or you know that that person is going through a hard time... they are a bit different...

Being able to consume alcohol when going through a tough time at home can be seen as an escape from problems. Niel (Q147) shared the following:

Niel: Yes, like I think it becomes like their comfort zone... if he is unhappy the whole day and not big on talking, then he gets the motivation to talk and be social...like an escape...

³ "BUZKILL" refers to a person who spoils the atmosphere or the party by not wanting to do something that the others want. He is seen as someone who spoils the fun.

4.6.2.4 Rebellion

The participants shared significant stories about being rebellious as a reason for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. These stories are interesting because the girls did not focus much on being rebellious as a reason for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Stories of rebellion include lying to parents and drinking to show their parents that they wanted to be independent. It was also noted that, according to these boys, strict parents' children tended to engage more in binge drinking.

Don (Q148): Yes...but I think it is more...people who have strict parents, their children know it then they drink more at 'kuiers'...

Dirk (Q149): And then they lie to their parents...

Ted (Q150): I think lots of teenagers are rebellious...because if they cannot do anything, they feel left out...yes...they want to show that they can be on their own...

Liam (Q151): Yes, they want to show they can go and be responsible...

4.6.3 Narratives of parental enabling

Parents and their role in adolescent binge drinking behaviour served as a big issue for discussion in both focus groups. The boys in this focus group shared stories about parents purchasing alcohol for their children, and setting an example, as well as not monitoring and knowing the whereabouts of their teenagers.

4.6.3.1 Parental monitoring

The participants felt that it was better to tell the truth about one's whereabouts than lie to one's parents. They stated that lying would cause mistrust and that trust is the most important issue in relation to one's parents.

Dirk (Q152): yes, it is better to just be honest instead of lying to them and then they find out...

Niel: Yes, trust is the most important thing with parents...

4.6.3.2 Examples set by parents

Based on the discussion of parents and the role parents play in adolescents' binge drinking, it was noted that the participants shared contrasting opinions about examples set by parents. Most boys felt that when parents are heavy drinkers or set a bad example, it should inspire the adolescents not to be like their parents. Louis (Q154) stated the following about parents setting examples:

Louis: No, because they see what their parents do and want to be better...

4.6.3.3 Parents purchasing and providing alcohol

The participants shared stories about parents purchasing the alcohol for their children themselves, rather than the teenagers buying their own alcohol, which might include strong drinks such as brandy and spirits. Stan (Q155) shared the following story:

Stan: I think...uhm I know of a few parents who would rather buy beers instead of their children buying their own alcohol...so that they would know what their children are drinking...instead of their children buying hard liquor...

A discussion about control over what their children are drinking, and how much, followed in the group. It was evident that the participants felt that trust plays a big role when it comes to parents purchasing alcohol for their adolescents.

Ryan & Nic: Trust...

Niel (Q156): But remember it is not someone else that throws the alcohol down your throat...you have to drink it yourself so they trust you that you will make the right decisions...

They concluded that those at parties who do engage in binge drinking are usually the adolescents whose parents did not give them alcohol and they had purchased the alcohol themselves, thus making wrong choices about what drinks to buy and then drinking too much. However, Don felt it was important for parents to purchase alcohol responsibly:

Don (Q157): But it is usually the people's parents who do not give alcohol to their children...it is those who are not used to it...

Niel (Q158): It is those who buy the alcohol secretly and then...they buy the wrong stuff and then...then they drink too much...

Don (Q159): Yes, your parents must still be responsible...he or she must still not be like that one person's dad who don't care if he goes out and puke and stuff...

4.6.4 Narratives of consequence

4.6.4.1 Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity and physical effects of consuming alcohol

The boys enjoyed discussing and sharing stories about the effects of binge drinking. They were laughing and making jokes in the group whilst sharing their opinions. They stated that although there are some boys who want to take advantage of girls when under the influence of alcohol, it was not an accomplishment if the girl was very drunk. This conversation had a light tone and they were laughing a lot:

Nic (Q160): There are people like that...

Niel (Q161): Yes, there are characters like that...

Nic (Q162): but there are also people who don't do that at all...but for many it's not actually a personal accomplishment... (laugh) and that is bad...

Stan (Q163): If all your friends like to see you are making out with that girl and everyone know she was very drunk...

Ryan (Q164): (interrupts)...then it doesn't count... (laughing)

Niel (Q165): (interrupts)...everyone will laugh at you and make jokes...and...if you made out with a drunk girl...

(Liam interrupts Q166)) ...who like puked on you...

Niel (Q167): Then you know... (All laughing)

They did all agree that girls get friendlier and seek more attention from boys when they are engaging in binge drinking. Dirk stated that when it comes to sexual behaviour, adolescents

will know if they are being forced into something they do not want to do. Nic supported his views by sharing that if a person has values, he will not engage in risky behaviour.

Dirk (Q168): ...but like sexual...I think every person does what he is comfortable with but you will still know if you don't want to do it...

Nic (Q169): I think if you have moral values, you won't get to the point where you are so drunk and you cannot decide for yourself anymore...

4.6.5 Narratives of performative masculinities and feminities

4.6.5.1 Differences between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour

It was evident that the boys felt that girls drink less than boys because they get drunk more easily. Nic (Q170) shared the following:

Nic: They drink much less because their capacity is less and they cannot drink that much... (A lot of the boys laugh)

Niel (Q171) noted that girls are easier targets for peer pressure because they are more easily influenced by their group of girlfriends. He explained that boys will not put that much pressure on each other but girls will judge one another if someone does not want to drink.

Niel: I think...I think ...I don't know, it depends... girls are much more sensitive to groups than boys...if your group is against it and you are friends with them, then you won't, but say you are not yet part of that group, then you will drink when that group is drinking, but say we are a big group of people and you don't want to drink, they will leave you and stuff, unlike girls...they won't directly say that but they'll look at each other and stuff and on the inside they will be like: "ohhh jissou..."

It is, however, interesting to note that the girls found boys to be more prone to peer pressure. When I discussed this with the boys, they were offended and replied immediately:

(Everyone: nooooooooo)

Don (Q172): Like the boys drink... many boys drink to get drunk and then many times they will fake being drunk...except many of the girls drink so that they won't feel left out...

Liam (Q173): And when they drink they go completely overboard... (general “joooo”; “yes”)

The discussions led to what girls think about boys who drink too much. Some boys indicated that they think it would be very off-putting for girls, while others mentioned that the girls are used to boys consuming a large amount of alcohol. Stan shared that boys tend to engage in binge drinking to gain self-confidence. He stated the following (Q174):

Stan: I think many people drink to gain confidence to chat to girls and stuff...that is the only reason they will drink only to speak to that one girl who they would never speak to when they are sober...

4.6.5.2 Different effects of binge drinking behaviour on girls and boys

Whilst discussing the different effects of binge drinking on girls and boys, some issues were raised such as boys becoming aggressive and whether boys also lose their good reputation if they engage in binge drinking. Liam (Q175) stated that boys change when they are under the influence of alcohol:

Liam: Dudes change a lot more...if they are drunk they are way different than when they are sober...

Discussions about boys becoming aggressive led to contrasting perspectives from the group. Some indicated that boys do get aggressive when under the influence of alcohol, while others felt that it depends on what one was drinking. Some boys shared what happens to girls when they are drinking:

Nic (Q176): Yes, but they only drink like half a cocktail then they start giggling....

Liam (Q177): Yes, you think there is a ‘kuier’ with the girls tonight...then you get there and you see all the bottles then you are like... ” aaahhh ” (everyone agrees)

Dirk shared his view on girls engaging in binge drinking behaviour, which led to risky behaviour such as sexual encounters. He stated that girls know what they are doing when they are drinking. Niel (Q178) supported Dirk, saying:

Niel: Many times people are ashamed about what they did and then they will say that they cannot remember anything but they are only embarrassed...

The group discussed the issue of getting a bad reputation for drinking and whether it is as easy for boys to get a bad reputation as it is for girls. They agreed that girls do easily get a bad reputation. Ryan agreed, but Stan and Niel stated the following:

Stan (Q179): No, but it depends on what the girls do when they are at a 'kuier'...

Niel (Q180): And it depends on how you see yourself...like say your friends don't care and they are not true friends, then your bad name will never go away...what others think of you depends on what you do...

Don and Niel shared that it is not only girls who are labelled easily, but boys can also get a bad name for doing bad things repeatedly:

Don (Q181): Many times you think others think bad of you but they actually don't...and it is also not true that boys can do things over and over because...a story I have heard is that girls also give a bad name to boys because they do the same thing over and over like make out with a lot of boys, so it's not only the guys...

Niel (Q182): Yes, say for instance he is a player...and stuff like that...

The boys in the focus group concluded that girls have more to lose when engaging in binge drinking behaviour than boys.

Don (Q183): But it is worse for girls because when girls get drunk and a guy takes advantage of them and they maybe sleep with the guy, it can be much worse for them than for guys...so the worst that can happen with guys is that they can get an STD...with girls ...they cannot go study further because they have a baby...

Researcher: So girls have more to lose...? Everyone agrees

4.6.5.3 Rebellious behaviour

This discussion led to many boys laughing about stories and how boys can get into trouble while under the influence of alcohol. It seems that boys tend to link drinking and having “fun”. They enjoyed thinking and talking about these stories – about how boys would get into trouble while engaging in binge drinking. They shared stories with examples of how boys would get into trouble for having “fun”:

Ryan, Niel, Louis: Yes!! (Laugh)

Niel (Q184): You want to do something fun and nice...

Dirk (Q185): Yes, like take out a stop street sign and put it somewhere else...

The group shared that getting into trouble or helping other boys is something that will always be done in a group. Some boys shared that the boys will always help one another and do everything together when consuming alcohol, even if that means helping someone who is feeling ill due to drinking too much:

Niel (Q186): Yes, but I mean who will do something alone...that's just weird (everyone laughs) ...everyone helps...

Stan (Q187): Say that you 'kuier' and someone begin to puke...then all the boys will help the one who is puking...

4.6.6 Narratives of strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents

4.6.6.1 Intervention programmes

The participants felt the same as the girls' group that self-control is a bigger problem than alcohol, and if you are able to control yourself alcohol consumption will not be a problem amongst adolescents. Louis shared the following:

Louis (Q188): yes... it is true... because certain people can drink and have some self-control, but you get others who will lose control completely...

The boys discussed intervention programmes and suggested that it depends on oneself whether prevention and intervention programmes would work. Don and Niel shared their perspectives:

Don (Q189): It is a decision that you have to make for yourself...

Niel (Q190): Because we are warned our whole life like in LO [Life Orientation classes] and by our parents and so on that alcohol is not good for people and teenagers know it is not good for them... I mean anything that you do to that extent is not good for you...but it depends on yourself... I mean we hear bad things about drugs as well but there are still people doing tik and stuff... it depends on yourself...you can go to every single prevention programme...

The boys felt that alcohol abuse is such a big part of our country and traditions. Niel (Q191) stated that alcohol is one of the biggest problems amongst the youth in South Africa.

Niel: I know our country is like part of the top 10 countries with the highest amount of alcohol abuse amongst young children... under the age of 18...it is a South African thing...well an Afrikaner... like Afrikaans people...

Most boys in the groups shared that intervention programmes would not be successful if they addressed only the facts about binge drinking and that most people would not be bothered to attend such programmes.

Ryan (Q192): We have been hearing since Grade 4 that we shouldn't do it... but people don't worry about it...

However, Niel (Q194) shared his opinion that although prevention focuses on the physical effects of alcohol, there is no one to really focus on deeper things, such as when under the influence of alcohol a person cannot think straight and might do something he is not aware of.

Niel: Yes, but I don't feel... I don't think there is enough focus in LO on that...but everything focuses specifically on what you said... only the physical part... it is bad for you... it is poison... kidney problems and so on... but no one focus on that you literally cannot think straight and there will happen stuff to you that you are not even aware of... and...

4.6.6.2 Parents

It is interesting to note that the boys also shared stories about prevention and intervention involving parents. Stan (Q194) shared his views on intervention involving parents and felt that some adolescents would not be willing to attend a programme at which they have to speak about sensitive topics.

Stan: I think if you...I think some children wouldn't like to go with their parents to such things...they won't open up as they do with their friends...

Niel (Q195) agreed. However, he suggested that attending a programme would possibly provide a space for adolescents and parents to communicate and talk about things that are hard to talk about:

Niel: But do you think... we wouldn't have spoken like we did if our mothers and fathers were also sitting here... but I think it is a good idea to go with your parents to such a

thing...then you can work together and see and hear things together... like some counselling... you can see... what happens... they talk to each other and about stuff...

Table 4.5 summarises the differences and similarities between the boys' and girls' content in the focus groups.

Table 4.5

Differences and Similarities between Boys' and Girls' Focus Group - Content

| | SIMILARITIES | | DIFFERENCES | |
|--|---|-------|--|---|
| Narratives | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both genders felt that binge drinking is part of the phase of adolescence. The boys and the girls agreed that many adolescents engage in binge drinking to deal with emotional hardships. Preparing for going to university or college after school Getting to know your limits Peer pressure playing a bigger role in boys | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boys will give in to peer pressure eventually | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls stated that boys have a need to impress girls and to fit in |
| Parental enabling | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Better for parents to purchase alcohol for their children, to have some sort of control over what their children are drinking | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents who are drinkers inspire children not to drink and not to become like them | |

Table 4.5 *continued*

| Narratives | SIMILARITIES | | DIFFERENCES | |
|---|--|-------|--|-------|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Consequence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls start acting strangely Sexual behaviour Boys tend to engage in rebellious behaviour and want to do something “fun” Most girls know what they are doing when under the influence of alcohol and easily use it as excuse to explain certain behaviour | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls and boys can get labelled and a bad reputation from drinking | |
| Performative masculinities and feminities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some boys would want to take advantage of girls when they are under the influence of alcohol | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls do things that they would not usually do when under the influence of alcohol Girls get intoxicated by alcohol more easily than boys Boys tend to drink to gain self-confidence to speak to girls | |

Table 4.5 *continued*

| Narratives | SIMILARITIES | | DIFFERENCES | |
|--|--------------|-------|--|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Strategies to deal with binge drinking behaviour among adolescents | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people should be educated about the negative effects of binge drinking • Parents should be involved in prevention and intervention programmes • Drinking is inevitable because it is part of South African culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people will not pay attention to prevention and intervention programmes • Prevention programmes should be more interesting |

4.7 CONCLUSION

I used this chapter to discuss the data analysis and the themes that emerged from the data I collected. The following chapter will consist of a discussion of the findings, limitations and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS, RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND STRENGTHS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the findings of the research will be interpreted and discussed according to the literature review and the different theoretical frameworks explored in Chapter 2. These theoretical frameworks include Bronfenbrenner's ecological perspective (1977), social learning theory (Aker, et al., 1979; Bandura, 1977; Petraitis, et al., 1995), social control theory (Hirschi, 1969; Petraitis, et al., 1995) and the alcohol expectancy theory (Goldman, Del Boca, & Darkes, 1999). Bronfenbrenner's systems theory (1977) helps us make sense of adolescents' experiences on the different levels such as the micro-, meso-, and exosystems. Furthermore, the social learning, social control and alcohol expectancy theories were used to explain and understand adolescents' drinking behaviour and to make sense of binge drinking.

The aim of this research study was to understand the dynamics of adolescents' binge drinking behaviour and to learn about this phenomenon through exploring narratives. Exploring adolescents' narratives about binge drinking behaviour might lead to the development of targeted intervention and prevention programmes.

I conducted this research within a qualitative paradigm and used interviews in focus groups as well as written essays by Grade 11 learners to answer the questions that guided my research. The sample was selected using convenience sampling. All the participants were readily available because they were all learners at the high school where the study was conducted.

I used the following questions to interrogate the research:

- What are adolescents' narratives on binge drinking behaviour?
- What are the dynamics and practices involved in adolescent binge drinking behaviour?
- What is the nature of male and female binge drinking behaviour? Do they differ or coincide?
- What are adolescents' views on interventions that target binge drinking behaviour?

This research was conducted in a middle to high income high school in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, South Africa. I analysed the data in this study through qualitative thematic analysis. This process enabled me to identify themes and categories and these are set out in Chapter 4. The outcome of the analysis will now be discussed.

5.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

I use the findings and extracts in this chapter, which I gathered and analysed through collecting essays and stories about binge drinking, as well as conducting two separate focus groups with boys and girls. The relevant theoretical frameworks will be used to discuss these findings.

5.3 PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES AND NARRATIVES OF THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF BINGE DRINKING

5.3.1 Details of where and how binge drinking takes place

The findings in this study suggested that adolescents drink mostly at other adolescents' or their own homes. According to the findings, these adolescents consume alcohol almost every weekend and they would create opportunities to engage in binge drinking behaviour. Grade 11 learners in the Western Cape showed a high prevalence of engagement in drinking behaviour (Flisher, et al., 2003; Morojele, Myers, et al., 2013). The word “kuier”, describing binge drinking as well as where it takes place, was used often during data gathering.

5.3.2 Gaining access to alcohol

This study found that adolescents gain access to alcohol by various means. According to Paton (1999), a quarter of adolescents between thirteen and sixteen years of age who engage in drinking behaviour obtain alcohol from older siblings. This finding was consistent with literature that found many adolescents gain access to alcohol through older siblings (Paton, 1999). The findings included asking older brothers and sisters to purchase alcohol for them, parents purchasing alcohol or going to a place where they knew they would be able to purchase alcohol themselves, even though not legally entitled to do so. Others stated that going to a “kuier” always entailed having access to alcohol at the party. This finding is consistent with literature stating that adolescents sometimes gain access to alcohol through older siblings or going to a party, knowing that alcohol will be available (Wagenaar, et al., 1993).

5.3.3 Binge drinking starting age

Participants agreed with literature about when adolescents start experimenting with alcohol. Richter, et al. (2006) state that many adolescents often start to abuse substances, such as alcohol, between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years. Some participants indicated that binge drinking might even start at an even younger age, such as thirteen.

5.4 PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF THE REASONS GIVEN FOR ENGAGING IN BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR

5.4.1 Adolescence as a phase of life

Russell, et al., (2011) report on narratives about why some adolescents engage in binge drinking behaviour. These narratives imply that being social and consuming alcohol cannot be separated. The modelling behaviour of adults and friends motivates the link between alcohol consumption and having a good time, and it suggests that you cannot enjoy yourself without consuming alcohol (Russell, et al., 2011). These narratives are supported by the stories told in this study. Many participants, especially the boys, suggest that engaging in binge drinking behaviour is part of the specific phase of being an adolescent. According to Russell, et al. (2011), there are specific expectations that exist about adolescent binge drinking and therefore adolescents believe they are expected to engage in such behaviour. This is supported by the findings in the study where adolescents stated that binge drinking occurred due to expectations from others that binge drinking is what they were supposed to be doing whilst in this specific phase of adolescence. Shulman and Cauffman (2014), refer to adolescents being in a phase where risk-taking is high. This is when reward seeking is high and a person's self-control is low (Shulman & Cauffman, 2014). This literature supports findings from the study that being an adolescent entails the risk of engaging in binge drinking, because alcohol consumption is seen as risk-taking, which is part of the adolescent phase.

The participants suggested that having fun and drinking cannot be separated when you are in the specific phase of adolescence. The findings from the learners' narratives suggested that experimenting with alcohol is a stage (of life) that everyone goes through, and through experimenting, you are preparing yourself for university or college. Experimenting as preparation for the future is given as a primary reason for engaging in binge drinking behaviour. Both the boys' and girls' focus groups supported this argument for engaging in binge drinking behaviour.

5.4.2 Peer pressure

The findings suggest that peer pressure plays a significant role in adolescent's binge drinking behaviour. When going through the phase of adolescence many changes occur, such as preferring to spend time with friends rather than spending time with family (Brown, 1990; Brown & Larson, 2009). It is therefore inevitable that friends would have a great influence on adolescents' behaviour and the choices they make.

Participants stated that many adolescents want to be accepted into the popular crowd and therefore engage in binge drinking. Binge drinking occurs, *inter alia*, when adolescents want to belong to a certain group and fit into certain circles of friends. Practices such as drinking are passed on by peers and family members, and they teach young people that it is acceptable to engage in drinking behaviour (Allan, et al., 2012).

Calling one another insulting names such as “loser” and “moffie” stood out as the way peer pressure is expressed among young people and in these groups. These findings from the focus groups agree with the literature that certain perceptions around alcohol and the effects of alcohol consumption exist. These perceptions of peers impact greatly on adolescent binge drinking behaviour (Song, et al., 2012).

An element of competition was noted when findings suggested that adolescents compete as to who can consume the largest amount of alcohol and thus be seen as the “strongest drinker”. It is interesting to note that differences exist between boys' and girls' peer pressure groups. According to the findings of the study, peer pressure plays a bigger role among boys than girls. Some findings stated that it is important for boys to drink when everyone else is drinking, to show that they are like grown men and not youngsters anymore.

Russell, et al. (2011) found that although adolescents are aware of the risks that alcohol consumption poses, these risks are disregarded. Adolescents regard not drinking as a bigger risk to their social standing and therefore it is more important to them (Russell, et al., 2011). The findings of this study agree with this statement. Many participants stated the importance of fitting into a crowd or a specific group, and therefore engaging in binge drinking behaviour, without thinking about the consequences or the risks involved in this practice.

However, the findings of the girls' and boys' focus groups suggested that choice and self-control play an important role, and that ultimately it is one's own choice to engage in binge drinking behaviour, although peer pressure can complicate these decisions. This relates to the

alcohol expectancy theory (Goldman, et al., 1999) that decision-making depends on expectancies and outcomes. The participants in this study suggested that engaging in binge drinking was linked to certain outcomes, such as “If I don’t drink, I will be seen as a loser” or “If I drink too much, as a girl, I can easily get a bad reputation”.

5.4.3 Emotional hardships

Russell, et al. (2011) found that adolescents consume alcohol in order to gain self-confidence, forget about their troubles, have something to do when they are bored and help them cope with stress and sleeplessness.

The above-mentioned statement was applicable to the participants in the study. Both boys and girls stated that engaging in binge drinking behaviour helped adolescents cope with emotional hardship. Many boys mentioned that they could see why other adolescents, who were going through hard times, engaged in binge drinking.

Private drinking, as well as problem drinking, can be associated with motives such as the decrease of stress and anxiety (Beseler, et al., 2008). The girls and the boys (in the focus groups involved in this study) mentioned that adolescents would engage in binge drinking to forget about their problems. It is interesting to note that more girls than boys mentioned that teenagers engage in heavy drinking to escape from their reality and from the pressures that parents place on their children to perform academically, as well as on the sports field. Bronfenbrenner’s theory (1977) suggests reciprocal interactions between the different systems of the individual. The microsystem refers to a person’s immediate environment and how the individual interacts with this system. Influences are seen as reciprocal and therefore the adolescent will be influenced by personal stressors such as depression and other stressors in the meso and exosystems. This theory supports the findings from the study that adolescents are easily influenced by stressors such as school and socio- economic factors, and that these stressors may lead to negative behaviour such as binge drinking.

According to Grant, et al. (2001), individual-difference factors that relate to risks for anxiety, anti-social behaviour and depression can be identified as significant factors in adolescents’ tendency to engage in risky alcohol consuming behaviour such as binge drinking episodes. The participants supported this statement, indicating that factors such as depression are often seen as a predictor of engagement in binge drinking behaviour.

5.5 PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF PARENTAL ENABLING

5.5.1 Parental monitoring

According to Paton (1999), parents influence adolescents' drinking behaviour in a significant way. It was evident from this study that the participants saw the role of the parents as one of the biggest influences on adolescent binge drinking behaviour. How much parents know about their children and about their drinking behaviour may have a positive influence on adolescent substance abuse as well as delinquency (Abar, et al., 2014). The findings from this study are similar to the findings from Abar, et al. (2014), concluding that parents who don't know about their adolescents' binge drinking are contributing to the establishment of these behaviours.

Parents who are aware of their children's whereabouts and who monitor them can reinforce their adjustment to social circumstances (Laghi, Lonigro, Baiocco, & Baumgartner, 2013). The participants in this study supported the view of these authors, stating that many parents are not aware of what their children are doing and where they are over weekends, hence adolescents' engagement in behaviour of which their parents are unaware. Some participants indicated that binge drinking takes place even at parents' houses without their knowing about the drinking which happens outside or in another room. These findings are significant to the social control theory (Hirschi, 1969; Petraitis et al., 1995), which suggests that if parents are not monitoring their children a tendency towards defiance may lead to alcohol use.

Most participants stated that parents who are aware of their childrens' binge drinking and parents, who support their children's drinking by purchasing the alcohol for them, actually are helping their children to adjust and prepare themselves for the future, such as going to university and college. The participants in this study felt strongly that engaging in binge drinking at a younger age is good for you in order for you to know your limits and prepare yourself for what will happen when you have freedom and can drink responsibly. They stated that some parents supported them in their drinking behaviour in order to prepare themselves for university.

It is interesting to note that both genders, but especially the boys, highlighted the issue of trust between parents and children when it comes to drinking and parents purchasing alcohol. The male participants stated that it would be better to tell parents the truth about your whereabouts than lie to them.

5.5.2 Examples by parents

When adolescents observe parents' alcohol-consuming behaviour, it may lead to the adolescents being curious to experiment (Russell et al., 2011). Some participants agreed with this statement by explaining that adolescents who see parents drinking also want to know what it feels like to consume alcohol.

Russell, et al. (2011) suggest that adolescents' drinking behaviour was influenced by their parents in many ways. Adolescents whose parents tend to drink more tend to engage more in drinking behaviour (Russell, et al., 2011). However, some participants disagreed with this statement. They felt that when parents' binge drinking behaviour sets a bad example many children would not want to be like their parents and, on the contrary, would not engage in similar drinking behaviour. Findings from this study agree with findings from Rossow, et al. (2015) that conflicting findings exist as to the extent of parental drinking influencing childrens' drinking. However, the majority of the participants who wrote the essays stated that children of parents who engage in binge drinking tend to follow their parents' behaviour. They even went as far as stating that the majority of adolescents who observe what their parents are doing want to follow their example, and parents and caretakers are not necessarily responsible role models.

Both the boys' and the girls' focus groups suggested that values play an important role when it comes to examples set by parents and following the wrong example. The participants stated that having values and respect for your parents include not following bad examples and not engaging in risky drinking behaviour.

5.5.3 Parents providing and purchasing alcohol for adolescents

Paton (as cited in Russell et al., 2011) states that it is not only alcoholic parents who have a negative impact on their children's drinking behaviour. He noted that many adolescents between the ages of 13 and 16 who engage in frequent drinking behaviour obtain the alcohol from their parents. He further states, "No wonder children are cynical about the double standards of their elders; by setting bad examples, we are all guilty of abusing our children" (Paton, as cited in Russell, et al., 2011, p. 7).

The participants supported the statement by Paton (1999) that children are getting sceptical about the standards set by parents when parents themselves are setting bad examples when it comes to responsible drinking practice.

Parents who purchase alcohol for their children are highlighted as part of the findings of this study. Most participants agreed that parents were purchasing alcohol for their children, and some even buying hard liquor such as shots to give their children the experience of consuming it.

However, participants also stated that some adolescents would blackmail parents into purchasing alcohol for them by stating that it is better for parents to know what their children are drinking. It would, therefore, be better for parents to buy the alcohol, so that the wrong type of drinks like hard liquor including whisky and brandy would not be bought. These findings differ from literature, which states that parents who provide alcohol to their children are increasing the children's risk of engaging in binge drinking behaviour, especially girls (Danielsson, et al., 2011). The boys' focus group, particularly, shared that though parents are purchasing alcohol, they therefore have some sort of control over what and how much their children consume when going to a party. The study also found that male adolescents believed that children whose parents do not purchase alcohol for them are engaging the most in binge drinking behaviour.

5.6 PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF CONSEQUENCE

5.6.1 Effects of binge drinking behaviour such as sexual promiscuity and physical effects of consuming alcohol

Researchers suggest that the likelihood of engaging in sexual behaviour increases when the frequency of alcohol consumption increases (Page & Hall, 2009). According to the participants, alcohol has a specific influence on adolescents' sexual behaviour. The participants agreed with researchers (Page & Hall, 2009) that alcohol consumption leads to engaging in sexual behaviour in which they would not have participated when not under the influence of alcohol. The female participants found that the males only wanted to get the females under the influence of alcohol in order to take sexual advantage of them. The boys agreed that this was true to some extent, but blamed the girls for displaying extreme sexual behaviour when under the influence of alcohol.

According to Russell, et al. (2011), bad drinking has a negative influence on friendships, leads to violent behaviour and causes engagement in risky sexual behaviour, which in turn may lead to unwanted pregnancies. This study, however, found that female adolescents have more to lose than males when it comes to sexual behaviour. The participants found that being a female increase the risk of unwanted pregnancies whilst still at school, thereby negatively influencing

their future. It is interesting to note that the boys found it to be true that girls have more to lose, although it is the males' responsibility as well when it comes to sexual behaviour and teenage pregnancies. The participants in this study also felt that engaging in risky drinking behaviour damages good relationships, as Russell, et al. (2011) mentions.

Further findings revealed that although many adolescents state that they cannot remember what they were doing under the influence of alcohol, they can remember very well and only use memory loss as an excuse for behaviour of which others and society would not approve. The participants found that if one has high moral values engaging in risky sexual behaviour when under the influence of alcohol would not happen.

However, the participants found that engaging in binge drinking behaviour lowered the inhibitions of adolescents and they started engaging in risky sexual behaviour. This study suggests that sexual behaviour is inevitable when engaging in binge drinking and the participants agreed that sexual promiscuity happened at every party and very quickly when people engaged in binge drinking.

5.7 PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF PERFORMATIVE MASCULINITIES AND FEMINITIES

5.7.1 Differences between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour

Russell, et al. (2011) state that noteworthy discrepancies between male and female responses to alcohol can be noted. Females tend to link alcohol use with romantic networks, whereas with males alcohol is positioned within networks of developing masculinity. Participants agreed with this statement about masculinity in boys and increased sexual activity in girls. However, some participants did not agree with the above statement, claiming that boys want to get girls under the influence of alcohol in order to get them to engage in sexual activities with them.

The participants felt that boys engage in binge drinking to show each other how much and how fast they can consume alcohol. According to the findings, competition exists between male adolescents as to who can drink the most and be the most popular guy in the group or school. Being male and showing how much you can drink so that you can gain admiration for masculine prowess are seen as reasons to engage in binge drinking behaviour (Workman, 2001).

The findings of this study suggest that boys begin to consume alcohol earlier than girls, and girls would only start engaging in binge drinking after the boys have started. The boys in this study felt strongly that boys tend to consume more alcohol than girls in order to impress one another, as well as to impress the girls. They felt, however, that girls drink in order to feel freer to flirt and kiss boys.

5.7.2 Different effects of binge drinking on the behaviour of girls and boys

Alcohol has a greater effect on women than on men (Murugiah 2012). This is because of women's lower levels of the enzyme that breaks down alcohol, gastric alcohol dehydrogenase, as well as their overall smaller physiques (Josephs & Steele 1990; MacAskill, et al., 2001; Spooner & Hetherington, 2005). The findings of this study are in agreement with the statement that alcohol has a greater effect on women. The participants stated that alcohol influences girls faster than boys. The male adolescents stated that girls can and should drink less than boys because they are not able to handle as large an amount of alcohol as boys. They also stated that alcohol has a greater effect on girls because they are physically smaller than boys.

Both genders in this study found that boys can more easily engage in binge drinking without people judging or thinking bad about them. They found that girls are more easily seen as bad or "common" and judged harshly when engaging in binge drinking. This is similar to findings in literature suggesting that girls drinking are easily seen as a stigmatized activity (Tutenges & Sandberg, 2001).

When discussing the effects of binge drinking on boys and girls, the participants felt that alcohol gave the boys more self-confidence to engage in rebellious behaviour and made girls want to engage in risky sexual behaviour. The boys found that girls start acting very strangely when under the influence of alcohol. The boys' focus group felt that girls engage in behaviour that they do not want to be associated with or do not want to talk about.

Becoming aggressive was a finding suggested by both genders in this study. The participants found that boys tended to engage in aggressive behaviour and would often seek fights with others when under the influence of alcohol. The boys in the study also found that being rebellious and wanting to do things that are against the law are much more feasible when boys are under the influence of alcohol. The boys stated that challenging the law, such as removing road signs and getting into trouble, are often seen as fun, especially while engaging in binge drinking behaviour.

A general finding about both girls and boys concludes that girls are not able to handle themselves when it comes to consuming alcohol. It was interesting to note that both girls and boys felt that girls often do not know their limits and that boys are more able to control their drinking.

5.8 PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO NARRATIVES OF STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR AMONG ADOLESCENTS

5.8.1 Intervention programmes

The literature suggests that when dealing with adolescents and substance use interventions, it is necessary to start the prevention and intervention programmes as early as possible (Visser & Routledge, 2009). Approaches aimed at people of a young age would be more successful if implemented earlier to address substance abuse, which is especially due to psychological problems. The adolescents in this study were in agreement with this statement and suggested that prevention and intervention programmes should target young children going into the adolescent phase. Many participants felt that intervention aimed at the physical effects, risks and consequences of alcohol misuse should be addressed in such programmes.

Narrative findings from a study suggest that adolescents are not concerned about the effects of alcohol consumption on their health because it is not immediately obvious and recognisable (Russell et al., 2011). This seemed to be a finding from the current study as well. The adolescents mentioned that engaging in binge drinking is part of being an adolescent and going through certain experiences. They do not take note of the effects and risky consequences of binge drinking as it is seen as something that will pass with the specific developmental phase. The adolescents in this study felt that having a hangover and feeling sick are worth it if positive memories were made and if they had fun.

5.8.2 Role of parents

Russell, et al. (2011) suggest that parents and caregivers also need support when conducting intervention programmes to address alcohol abuse. Russell, et al. (2011) state that parents and caregivers are sending out mixed messages to adolescents. Getting parents on board prevention and intervention programmes would be beneficial. This was one finding of parents and the role they could play in prevention and intervention in adolescent binge drinking behaviour. The literature suggests that protective factors against adolescent substance abuse include family and parental factors (Lee, 2012). Therefore the findings of this study support this research by stating

that parents play a crucial role as protectors of adolescents who are at risk of engaging in risky behaviour, such as binge drinking.

For the male participants in the focus group it was important to see parents involved in prevention and intervention programmes. They felt that a prevention and intervention programme should set a safe and communal space for parents to engage with their adolescent children and to facilitate meaningful conversations about sensitive topics such as binge drinking. This is consistent with research suggesting that intervention and prevention strategies should include parents and adolescents investing in quality relationships and fostering communication about different issues (Ryan, et al., 2011).

This finding seemed to be similar to that of the literature I surveyed about intervention and prevention programmes. The boys in the focus group identified a need for parental involvement in intervention programmes. A specific study (Giannotta, et al., 2013) suggested that parents should be more attuned and empathic to the needs of their adolescents in order to address negative behaviour. Giannotta, et al. (2013) further suggested that involvement of parents in such programmes depends on their education levels as well as other factors such as place, time and busy schedules. Most parents of the adolescents in this study have a tertiary qualification and could possibly be involved in intervention programmes.

5.9 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The research findings indicate that the participants in this study were in agreement with many previous researchers and literature. It is evident that for them binge drinking entails drinking five or more drinks per sitting, and even drinking to see how many one can consume in the shortest amount of time.

Most participants indicated that binge drinking takes place over weekends and gave a new dimension to the word “kuier”, which became a slang word for alcohol consumption and a name for a place where binge drinking takes place for adolescents living in the twenty-first century. The findings further suggested that boys tend to engage in binge drinking at a younger age than girls and that most adolescents start experimenting with alcohol consumption at the ages of between fourteen and fifteen. This is when adolescents typically are in Grade 9 of their high school careers. Participants indicated that they gained access to alcohol by asking older siblings to purchase it for them or purchased alcohol from shops and places in the community where they know they will not be asked for their ages.

This study found that adolescents consume alcohol for many reasons. These reasons include binge drinking because that is what teenagers do when in the specific adolescent developmental phase, peer pressure and engaging in binge drinking due to emotional turmoil in one's life or because of psychological problems. They all felt that binge drinking was part of experimenting when you are young. Most participants were not worried that binge drinking might lead to serious problems or addictions. They all thought that adolescents experiment in order to make memories and share fun with friends. However, the adolescents did share that binge drinking at a school-going age prepares them for future challenges, such as having the freedom to do whatever and whenever you want to. The participants stated that it is beneficial to drink as much as you can whilst still young, so that you can get to know your limits and control your drinking behaviour when you go to university or college.

It was suggested that parental enabling plays a crucial role in adolescents' binge drinking behaviour. Findings suggested that parents were often unaware of what their children were doing, in contrast to the many parents who purchase alcohol for their adolescent children themselves, in order to have some sort of control over what their children consume when going out or going to parties. Most participants stated that parents often set an example by consuming large amounts of alcohol themselves and therefore setting bad examples for their children. However, some participants stated that these bad examples set by parents served as motivation for them to do better than their parents and not follow their example by binge drinking.

The findings suggested that when engaging in binge drinking different consequences are noted. The participants felt that sexual promiscuity was a serious consequence and this influenced girls more than boys. Most participants suggested that adolescents' lower inhibitions when engaging in binge drinking and alcohol generally leads to sexual behaviour. They also talked about feeling sick the following morning and that feeling sick and having a "hangover" are part of the experience.

The issues of performative masculinity and femininity were raised in both the essays and the different focus groups. Findings about these issues suggested that there is a big difference between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour, as well as the effects of alcohol on the behaviour of both genders. It is interesting to note that both males and females found that females become under the influence of alcohol more easily than males, and often want to consume alcohol to impress the males. However, the females stated that peer pressure often played a bigger role when boys engaged in binge drinking and that they just wanted to show

how much and how fast they could consume alcohol. The participants stated that girls engaged more easily in sexual behaviour when consuming large amounts of alcohol, although some boys would deliberately aim to get girls under the influence of alcohol to take sexual advantage of them. This research further found that girls are judged very easily and much more quickly than boys are. Girls often are called names such as “slut” and are labelled as being bad when consuming alcohol. Boys, on the contrary, are seen as the popular ones and the “man” when engaging in binge drinking behaviour.

Strategies to deal with binge drinking include prevention and intervention programmes aimed at younger children, which educate them about the physical and psychological dangers of engaging in binge drinking behaviour. However, many participants did feel that prevention and intervention programmes would be of no use and unsuccessful in reducing adolescent binge drinking. Although many learners felt that intervention and prevention programmes would not work, those who did suggest that it might work shared that there is a need amongst adolescents to communicate with their parents. The boys and some girls suggested that it is important to get parents involved in such programmes and to create a safe space where parents and adolescents can talk to each other openly about issues such as binge drinking.

5.10 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The participants in this study were confronted with the somewhat sensitive topic of binge drinking amongst adolescents. Initially they were hesitant to engage in discussion about binge drinking. The essays written by the participants, for many, served as an anonymous platform to share various stories and their own perspectives about all aspects related to binge drinking, such as stories about fears of adolescent binge drinking, detailed and emotional stories about how binge drinking has become the norm in society and the entire teenage phase.

While gathering data it was evident that binge drinking was something deep and hidden in today’s adolescent activities. Many parents, sometimes ignorant or unaware of what their children are doing over weekends, defended this behaviour by looking the other way or justifying binge drinking behaviour as just part of being an adolescent.

While conducting the research it became evident that many adolescents were ignorant and some even desensitized to binge drinking being an illegal act for children under the age of eighteen in South Africa. This could be due to many factors, such as examples set by others and perspectives about drinking in general. The social learning theory (Akers, et al., 1979; Bandura,

1977; Petraitis, et al., 1995) reflects meaningfully on how adolescents in this study shape their own ideas and perspectives based on the behaviour of others around them.

5.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It was difficult to introduce this study as non-threatening to adolescents due to discussions about almost taboo topics such as binge drinking amongst young people. I had to take extra precautions to offer absolute confidentiality, although the participants were asked to share stories about binge drinking in general and not their own stories.

Another limitation of this study includes the diversity of the sample group. Although many participants took part in writing the essays, only a few indicated that they would take part in the focus group. The girls' focus group typically consisted of streetwise adolescents who knew a lot of stories about binge drinking behaviour, and others engaging in binge drinking themselves. They somehow represented a specific group of adolescents who had strong opinions about the act of binge drinking. It seemed as if the boys' focus group was more conservative, sharing more conservative stories, and focusing a lot on values playing a role in binge drinking behaviour. For these reasons, there was more open discussion in the girls' focus group.

5.12 FURTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR RESEARCH

It would be interesting to explore how and whether adolescents from different language groups, cultural and race groups in a middle income society would differ or disagree with the findings and stories from this study.

Research on the views of parents of adolescents would be fascinating, specifically exploring parents' views on adolescent binge drinking behaviour and how their own behaviour might influence adolescent binge drinking.

The role of the media in decision-making and experimenting with substances such as alcohol could be an interesting field of study within a qualitative framework. Exploring platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, WeChat and Facebook would provide information on how adolescents are influenced through various media platforms and how engagement in binge drinking behaviour is affected.

Further research about the nature and success of prevention and intervention programmes would possibly highlight the importance of such programmes in addressing adolescent binge drinking behaviour.

5.13 RECOMMENDATIONS

Prevention and intervention: Although many adolescents felt that prevention and intervention programmes would not be successful, the need for prevention and intervention programmes was identified. It is important to gather information on how and where such programmes could possibly be presented. Research could indicate the age groups and how programmes might be culturally adapted to suit the audience, and specific outcomes identified in further research. Giannotta, et al., (2013) suggest that intervention and prevention programmes should be adopted, not only for adolescents at risk but also for adolescents with normative behaviour, such as the adolescents in this specific study. It is therefore important to engage with young people before we develop intervention and prevention programmes. It is necessary to obtain their views on intervention programmes and hear what they would prefer before implementing such programmes.

5.14 CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Conducting this study guided me through a process of exploring adolescents' stories about binge drinking, and thinking along with the participants about a sensitive and illegal (for adolescents) issue amongst our youth at the present time. I conducted the first round of data gathering with the Grade 11 learners and this sparked a lot of unexpected interest in a topic on which adolescents are usually hesitant to share.

After reading through the essays, I came across some themes that I identified to be discussed further in the focus groups. It was very interesting reading about their stories on binge drinking behaviour and it was evident that some learners had very strong and interesting perspectives on binge drinking behaviours. It was evident that some learners took the opportunity to write about themselves and their own stories about binge drinking. In order for this study to be ethical, I could not use those stories in my first round of analysis. I also came across some stories that shocked me in terms of how some adolescents handle alcohol these days, and the ignorance of both parents and learners that they are doing something that is actually against the law.

During the girls' focus group, I could see that participants were eager to share and had interesting opinions, especially about the boys and the ways in which boys engage in binge drinking behaviour. The boys were a bit more sceptical about the confidentiality arrangements and I felt that they were holding back a bit, especially at the beginning. I reassured them about the confidentiality agreements and they started to become more at ease with the discussions. The boys talked less than the girls, answering straightforward questions but not explaining, so I had to probe a lot more than during the interview with the girls. With the boys, this was a more structured process and I had to ask for different opinions from them, as they were not as eager as the girls, and were not shouting out opinions, wanting to give their views on every topic.

It was interesting to note the difference in viewpoints and perspectives between the two groups. I also noted the difference in response styles between the two genders, as well as more openness from the girls in talking about specific things. It is possible that they might have been influenced by me being a female working with boys' focus groups and therefore it might have been easier for the girls to relate to me. I was very excited after conducting both interviews and felt that I had received sufficient information from them.

The different reasons given for engaging in binge drinking behaviour, such as being an adolescent, having fun, peer pressure and parental influences, were also reflected in other literature sources. However, in the literature that I surveyed some findings seemed to be specific to this sample. Adolescents do not seem to be bothered by drinking legislation and they see drinking at school level as part of their preparation for university or life after Grade 12. Binge drinking, when they are still under the age of 18, seems to be a way of testing your own limits and seeing to what extent you can engage in drinking behaviour. Much literature exists about the efficiency of intervention and prevention programmes. Due to various factors, such as socio-economic background, parent's level of education, parents' schedules and their knowledge about alcohol and adolescent drinking, it may be necessary to investigate the specific group's needs before implementing intervention programmes.

In conclusion, many differences between boys' and girls' binge drinking behaviour exist. Although parents play a significant role in influencing binge drinking behaviour, a need for intervention and prevention, engaging parents, was identified.

6 REFERENCES

- Abar, C. C., Wood, M., & Jackson, K. M. (2014). Reciprocal relations between perceived parental knowledge and adolescent substance use and delinquency: The moderating role of parent–teen relationship quality. *Developmental Psychology*, 50(9), 2176–2187.
- Alcohol Statistics. (2009). Retrieved June 27, 2016, from <http://www.alcohol.org.za/statistics>
- Akers, R. L., Krohn, M. D., Lanza-Kaduce, L., & Radosevich, M. (1979). Social learning and deviant behavior: A specific test of a general theory. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 636–655.
- Allan, J., Clifford, A., Ball, P., Alston, M., & Meister, P. (2012). You’re less complete if you haven’t got a can in your hand’: Alcohol consumption and related harmful effects in rural Australia: The role and influence of cultural capital. *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 47(5), 624–629.
- Andrews, M., Squire, C., & Tambokou, M. (2008). *Doing narrative research* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Sage.
- Asato, M., Terwilliger, R., Woo, J., & Luna, B. (2010). White matter development in adolescence: A DTI study. *Cerebral Cortex*, 20(9), 2122–2131.
- Aspy, C. B., Vesely, S. K., Oman, R. F., Tolma, E., Rodine, S., Marshall, L., & Fluhr, J. (2012). School-related assets and youth risk behaviors: Alcohol consumption and sexual activity. *Journal of School Health*, 82, 3–10.
- Ataguba, J. E., Akazili, J., & McIntyre, D. (2011). Socioeconomic-related health inequality in South Africa: Evidence from General Household Surveys. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 10(48), 1–10.
- Austin, W. A. (2010). The effects of alcohol use on school enrollment. *Journal of Economics and Economic Education Research*, 11(2), 12–32.
- Babbie, E. (2001). *The practice of social research* (9th ed.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth.
- Babbie, E. (2013). *The Practice of Social Research* (13th ed.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Cengage Learning

- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. United States of America, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall
- Behan, D., & Waters, C. (2013). “Girls Just Wanna Have Fun”: Exploring The Role Of Teen Influences. In *National Technology and Social Science Conference* in America, Las Vegas.
- Bekman, N. M., Anderson, K. G., Trim, R. S., Metrik, J., Duilio, A. R., Myers, M. G., & Brown, S. A. (2011). Thinking and drinking: Alcohol-related cognitions across stages of adolescent alcohol involvement. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors* 25(3), 415–425.
- Bell J. (2009). ‘Why embarrassment inhibits the acquisition and use of condoms: A qualitative approach to understanding risky sexual behaviour’. *Journal of Adolescence*, 32(2), 379–391.
- Ben-Ari, A., & Enosh, G. (2010). Process of reflectivity: Knowledge construction in qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(2), 152–171.
- Berridge, V., Herring, R., & Thom, B. (2007). *The normalisation of binge drinking? An historical and cross cultural investigation with implications for action*. Retrieved August 2015 from http://alcoholresearchuk.org/downloads/finalReports/AERC_FinalReport_0049.pdf
- Berridge, V., Herring, R., & Thom, B. (2009). “Binge drinking: A confused concept and its contemporary history’. *Social History of Medicine*, 22(3), 597–607.
- Beseler, C. L., Aharonovich, E., Keyes, K. M., & Hasin, D. S. (2008). Adult transition from at-risk drinking to alcohol dependence: The relationship of family history and drinking motives. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research*, 32(4), 607–616.
- Betancourt, O. A., & Herrera, M. M. (2006). Alcohol and drug problems and sexual and physical abuse at three urban high schools in Mthatha. *South African Family Practice*, 48(4), 17–17c.
- Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research*. London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bonell, C., Sorheindo, A., Strange, V., Wiggins, M., Allen, E., Fletcher, A., Rhodes, T. (2010). A pilot whole-school intervention to improve school ethos and reduce substance use. *Health Education*, 110(4), 252–272.

- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32, 513–531.
- Brown, B. (1990). Peer groups and peer culture. In S. Feldman & G. Elliot (Eds.), *At the threshold: The developing adolescent* (pp. 171–196). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brown, S. A. (2001). Facilitating change for adolescent alcohol problems: A multiple options approach. In E. F. Wagner & H. B. Waldron (Eds.), *Innovations in adolescent substance use preventions*. (pp. 169–187). Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science.
- Brown S. A., Anderson, K. G., Ramo, D. E., & Tomlinson, K. L. (2005). Treatment of adolescent alcohol-related problems. *Recent Developments in Alcoholism*, 17, 327–348.
- Brown, B., & Larson, J. (2009). Peer relationships in adolescence. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of child adolescent psychology* (Vol. 2, 3rd ed., pp. 74–103). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Burt, B. A. (2001). Definitions of risk. *Journal of Dental Education*, 65(10), 1007-1008.
- Casey, B. J., Jones, R. M., & Hare, T. A. (2008). The Adolescent Brain. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1124, 111–126.
- Champion, H., Foley, K. L., Sigmon-Smith, K., Sutfin, E. L., & Du-Rant, R. H. (2008). Contextual factors and health risk behaviors associated with date fighting among high school students. *Women & Health*, 47, 1–22.
- Chein, J., Albert, D., O'Brien, L., Uckert, K., & Steinberg, L. (2011). Peers increase adolescent risk taking by enhancing activity in the brain's reward circuitry. *Developmental Science*, 14, 1–10.
- Comasco, R., Berglund, K., Orelund, L., & Nilsson, K.W. (2010). Why Do Adolescents Drink? Motivational Patterns Related to Alcohol Consumption and Alcohol-Related Problems *Substance Use & Misuse*, 45, 1589–1604.
- Conrod, P. J., Castellanos, N., & Mackie, C. (2008). Personality-targeted interventions delay the growth of adolescent drinking and binge drinking. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49, 181–190.

- Conrod, P. J., Castellanos-Ryan, N., & Mackie, C. (2011). Long-term effects of a personality-targeted intervention to reduce alcohol use in adolescents. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 79(3), 296–306.
- Conrod, P. J., Stewart, S. H., Comeau, N., & Maclean, A. M. (2006). Preventative efficacy of cognitive behavioral strategies matched to the motivational bases of alcohol misuse in at-risk youth. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 35, 550–563.
- Cooper, M. L., Russell, M., Skinner, J. B., & Windle, M. (1992). Development and validation of a three-dimensional measure of drinking motives. *Psychological Assessment*, 4(2), 123–132.
- Crano, W. D., & Bower, M. B. (2008). *Principles and methods of social research*. (2nd ed.). London, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Creswell, J. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design. Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). London, UK: SAGE
- Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 113, 487-496.
- Danielsson, A. K., Romelsjö, A., & Trengström, A. (2011). Heavy episodic drinking in early adolescence: Gender-specific risk and protective factors. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 46(5), 633–643.
- Denzin, N. (1987). *The alcoholic self*. London, UK: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (2003). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Department of Basic Education. (2012). *Education statistics in South Africa 2010*. Retrieved from www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?Fileticket=VIqIdHT7qZ8
- Department of Health (1999). *National drug master plan*. Pretoria, South Africa: Department of Health.
- Descombe, M. (2010). *Ground rules for social research. Guidelines for good practice* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Open University Press.

- Dishion, T. J., & McMahon, R. J. (1998). Parental monitoring and the prevention of child and adolescent problem behavior: A conceptual and empirical formulation. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 1, 61–75.
- Dunn, M. S., Kitts, C., Lewis, S., Goodrow, B., & Scherzer, G. D. (2011). Effects of youth assets on adolescent alcohol, tobacco, marijuana use, and sexual behavior. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 55(3), 23–40.
- Durrheim, K. (2014). Research design. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*, (pp. 33–59). Cape Town, South Africa: Juta and Company Ltd.
- Engels, R. C. M. E., Wiers, R., Lemmers, L., & Overbeek, G. (2005). Drinking motives, alcohol expectancies, self-efficacy, and drinking patterns. *Journal of Drug Education*, 35(2), 147–166.
- Ennett, S. T., Foshee, V. A., Bauman, K. E., Hussong, A., Faris, R., Hipp, J., Reyes, H. L. M. (2008). The social ecology of adolescent alcohol misuse. *Child Development*, 79(6), 1777–1791.
- Esin, C., Fathi, M., & Squire, C. (2014). Narrative analysis: The constructionist approach. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*. (pp. 203–217). London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Flisher, A. J., Parry, C. D. H., Evans, J., Muller, M., & Lombard, C. (2003). Substance use by adolescents in Cape Town: Prevalence and correlates. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 32, 58–65.
- Gardner, M., & Steinberg, L. (2005). Peer influence on risk taking, risk preference, and risky decision making in adolescence and adulthood: An experimental study. *Developmental Psychology*, 41(4), 625–635.
- Gatta, M., Gatto Rotondo, M. C., Svanellini, L., Lai, J., Salis, M., & Ferruzza, E. (2015). Focus groups as means for preventing adolescent alcohol consumption: Qualitative and process analysis. *Journal of Groups in Addiction & Recovery*, 10, 63–78.
- Giannotta, F., Ortega, E., & Stattin, H. (2013). An attachment parenting intervention to prevent adolescents' problem behaviors: A pilot study in Italy. *Child Youth Care Forum*, 42, 71–85.

- Giedd, J. (2008). The teen brain: Insights from neuroimaging. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42(4), 335–343.
- Gobo, G. (2011). Observation. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 15–34). London, UK: SAGE.
- Goldman, M. S., Brown, S. A., Christiansen, B. A., & Smith, G.T. (1991). Alcoholism and memory: Broadening the scope of alcohol-expectancy research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 10 (1), 137–146.
- Goldman, M. S., Del Boca, F. K., & Darkes, J. (1999). Alcohol expectancy theory: The application of cognitive neuroscience. In H. T. Blane, & K. E. Leonard (Eds.), *Psychological theories of drinking and alcoholism* (2nd ed., pp. 203–246). The Guilford substance abuse series New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Grant, B. F., Stinson, F. S., & Harford, T. C. (2001). Age of onset of alcohol use and DSM-IV alcohol abuse and dependence: A 12-year follow-up. *Journal of Substance Abuse*, 13, 493–504.
- Griffin, K. W., Botvin, G. J., Scheier, L. M., Diaz, T., & Miller, N. L. (2000). Parenting practices as predictors of substance use, delinquency and aggression among urban minority youth: Moderating effects of family structure and gender. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, 14, 174–184.
- Grinnell, R. M. (Jnr), Williams, M., & Unrau, Y. A. (2010). *Research methods for BSW students* (8th ed.). Kamazoo, Michigan: Pair Bond Publication.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). *Effective evaluation: Improving the usefulness of evaluation results through responsive and naturalistic approaches*. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. New York: Sage.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 191–216). London, UK: SAGE Publication Ltd.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (1997). *The new language of qualitative research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (Eds.). (2012). *Varieties of narrative analysis*. London, UK: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Holstein, J., & Gubrium, J. F. (2012). *Varieties of narrative analysis*. New York: Sage Publications.
- Howell, K. E. (2013). *An introduction to the philosophy of methodology*. London: Sage.
- Hutchison, E. (2008). *Dimensions of human behaviour: Person and environment*. London, UK: Sage.
- Hyvärinen, M. (2009). Analyzing narratives and story-telling. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman, & Julia Brannen (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social research methods* (pp. 447–460). London: Sage.
- Illona, H., Raili, V., & Lasse, K. (2012). "Associations between Finnish 9th grade students' school perceptions, health behaviors, and family factors". *Health Education*, 112(3), 256–271.
- Jessor, R., & Jessor, S. L. (1977). *Problem behavior and psychosocial development: A longitudinal study of youth*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Johnston, L. D., O'Malley, P. M., Bachman, J. G., & Schulenberg, J. E. (2009). *Monitoring the future national results on adolescent drug use: Overview of key findings* (NIH Publication No. 09-7401). Bethesda, MA: National Institute on Drug Abuse.
- Jonassen, D. H., & Hernandez-Serrano, J. (2002). Case-based reasoning and instructional design: Using stories to support problem solving. *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 50(2), 65–77.
- Josephs, R. A., & Steele, C. M. (1990). "The two faces of alcohol myopia: Attentional mediation of psychological stress". *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 99(2), 115–126.
- Kaynak, Ö., Winters, K. C., Cacciola, J., Kirby, K. C., & Arria, A. M. (2014). Providing alcohol for underage youth: What messages should we be sending parents? *Journal of Student Alcohol Drugs*, 75, 590–605.

- Kenny, S. R., Hummer, J. F., & LaBrie, J. W. (2010). An examination of prepartying and drinking game playing during high school and their impact on alcohol-related risk upon entrance into college. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 39, 999–1011.
- Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2000). What parents know, how they know it, and several forms of adolescent adjustment: Further support for a reinterpretation of monitoring. *Developmental Psychology*, 36, 366–380.
- King, G., Flisher, A. J., Noubary, F., Reece, R., Marais, A., & Lombard, C. (2004). Substance abuse and behavioural correlates of sexual assault among South African adolescents. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 28(6), 693–696.
- King, N., & Horrocks, C. (2010). *Interviews in qualitative research*. London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Kuhn, T. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, CA: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuntsche, E., Knibbe, R., Engels, R., & Gmel, G. (2007). Bullying and fighting among adolescents — Do drinking motives and alcohol use matter? *Addictive Behaviors* 32, 3131–3135.
- Laghi, F., Baiocco, R., D'Alessio, M., & Gurrieri, G. (2009). Suicidal ideation and time perspective in high school students. *European Psychiatry*, 24, 41–46.
- Laghi, F., Baiocco, R., D'Alessio, M., Bonacina, B., & Gurrieri, G. (2009). Binge drinking, alcohol expectancies and parenting styles in adolescence. *Bollettino di Psicologia Applicata*, 259, 21–30.
- Laghi, F., Lonigro, A., Baiocco, R., & Baumgartner, E. (2013). The role of parenting styles and alcohol expectancies in teen binge drinking: A preliminary investigation among Italian adolescents and their parents. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 20(2), 131–139.
- Larsson, S., Lilja, J., Von Braun, T., & Sjöblom, Y. (2013). General theoretical perspectives of narrative analysis. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 48, 1294–1305.
- Lee, R. (2012). Community violence exposure and adolescent substance use: Does monitoring and positive parenting moderate risk in urban communities? *Journal of Community Psychology*, 40(4), 406–421.

- Leigh, B. C., & Stacy, A. W. (2004). Alcohol expectancies and drinking in different age groups. *Addiction*, 99(2), 215–227.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverley Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Lynch, A. D., Lerner, R. M., & Leventhal, T. (2013). Adolescent academic achievement and school engagement: An examination of the role of school-wide peer culture. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 42, 6–19.
- MacAskill, S., Cooke, E., Eadie, D., & Hastings, G. (2001). *Perceptions of factors that promote and protect against the misuse of alcohol amongst young people and young adults: Final report*. Centre for Social Marketing, Glasgow.
- Marcoux, B. C., & Shope, J. T. (1997). Application of the theory of planned behavior to adolescent use and misuse of alcohol. *Health Education Research*, 12(3), 323–331.
- Maree, J. G. (Ed.). (2012). *Complete your thesis or dissertation successfully: Practical guidelines*. Claremont, South Africa: Juta & Company Ltd.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. (4th ed.). London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Maxwell, K. A. (2002). Friends: The role of peer influence across adolescent risk behaviors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 31, 267–277.
- McAdams, D. P. (2012). Exploring psychological themes through life-narrative accounts. In J. A Holstein & J. F Gubrium (Eds.), *Varieties of narrative analysis* (pp. 15–32). London, UK: SAGA Publications Ltd.
- McCart, M. R., Smith, D. W., Saunders, B. E., Kilpatrick, D. G., Resnick, H. S., & Ruggiero, K. J. (2007). Do urban adolescents become desensitized to community violence? Data from a national survey. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 77, 434–442.
- McLean, K. C., Pasupathi, M., & Pals, J. L. (2007). Selves creating stories creating selves: A process model of self-development. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11, 262–278.
- McNeely, C., & Falci, C. (2004). School connectedness and the transition into and out of health-risk behavior among adolescents: A comparison of social belonging and teacher support. *Journal of School Health*, 74, 284–292.

- Measham, F., & Brain, K. (2005). 'Binge' drinking, British alcohol policy and the new culture of intoxication. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 1(3), 262–283.
- Medical Research Council. (2010). *Fact sheet – Alcohol use in South Africa*. Retrieved from <http://www.healthinfo.org/admodule/alcohol>
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research. A guide to design and implementation*. Revised and Expanded from Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mertens, D. M. (2005). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology. Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods*. (2nd ed). California, CA: SAGE.
- Milkman, H. B., & Sunderwirth, S. G. (2010). *Craving for ecstasy and natural highs: A positive approach to mood alteration*. London, UK: Sage.
- Miller, T., & Bell, L. (2012). Consenting to what? Issues of access, gate-keeping and informed consent. In T. Miller, M. Birch, M. Mauthner, & J. Jessop (Eds.), *Ethics in qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp 61–75). London, UK: SAGE.
- Morojele, N. K., Nkosi, S., Kekwaletse, C. T., Saban, A., & Parry, D.H. (2013). *Review of research on alcohol and HIV in sub-Saharan Africa*. Cape Town, South Africa: South African Medical Research Council policy brief.
- Morojele, N., Myers, B., Townsend, L., Lombard, C., Plüddemann, A., Carney, T., . . . Nkosi, S. (2013). *Survey on substance use, risk behaviour and mental health among grade 8-10 learners in Western Cape provincial schools, 2011*. Cape Town, South Africa: South African Medical Research Council.
- Morojele, N. K., Parry, C. D. H., Brook J., & Kekwaletswe, C. T. (2012). Alcohol and drug use. In A. van Niekerk, S. Suffla & M. Seedat (Eds.), *Crime, violence and injury in South Africa: 21st Century solutions for child safety* (pp. 195–213). Tygerberg, South Africa: MRC-University of South Africa Safety & Peace Promotion Research Unit).
- Murugiah, S. (2012). A discrepancy of definitions. Binge drinking and female students at an Australian university. *Youth Studies Australia*, 31(2), 26–34.
- Neuman, W. L. (2007). *Basics of social research. Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc.

- Newcomb, M. D., & Bentler, P. M. (1989). Substance use and abuse among children and teenagers. *American Psychologist*, 44, 242–248.
- Nixon, K., & McClain, J. A. (2010). Adolescence as a critical window for developing an alcohol use disorder: Current findings in neuroscience. *Current Opinions in Psychiatry*, 23(3), 227–232.
- Olthuis, J. V., Zamboanga, B. L., Ham, L. S., & Van Tyne, K. (2011). The utility of a gender-specific definition of binge drinking on the AUDIT. *Journal of American College Health*, 59(4), 239–245.
- Page, R. M., & Hall, C. (2009). Psychosocial distress and alcohol use as factors in adolescent sexual behavior among sub-Saharan African adolescents. *Journal of School Health*, 79(8), 369–380.
- Palmgreen, P., Donohew, L., Lorch, E. P., Hoyle, R. H., & Stephenson, M. T. (2001). Television campaigns and adolescent marijuana use: Tests of sensation-seeking targeting. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91, 292–296.
- Parry, C. D. H., Plüddemann, A., Louw, A., & Leggett, T. (2004). The 3-metros study of drugs and crime in South Africa: Findings and policy implications. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 30(1), 167–185.
- Paton, A. (1999). Reflections on alcohol and the young. *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 34(4), 502–505.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Sage.
- Pedersen, W., & Von Soest. (2013). Socializing to binge drinking: A population-based, longitudinal study with emphasis on parental influences. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 133(2), 587–592.
- Peltzer, K., & Pengpid, S. (2008). Sexual abuse, violence and HIV risk among adolescents in South Africa. *Gender and Behaviour*, 6(1), 1462–1478.
- Perera, B., & Torabi, M. (2009). Motivations for alcohol use among men aged 16–30 years in Sri Lanka. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 6(9), 2408–2416.

- Petratis, J., Flay, B. R., & Miller, T. Q. (1995). Reviewing theories of adolescent substance use: Organizing pieces in the puzzle. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 67–86.
- Pettersson, C., Lindén-Boström, M., & Eriksson, C. (2009). Reasons for non-participation in a parental program concerning underage drinking: A mixed-method study. *BMC Public Health*, 9, 478-495.
- Petty, N. J., Thomson, O. J., & Stew G. (2012). “Ready for a paradigm shift? Part 2: Introducing qualitative research methodologies and methods”. *Manual Therapy*, 17(5), 378–384.
- Pluddemann, A., Dada, S., Parry, C., Bhana, A., Bachoo, S., Perreira, T., . . . Freytag, K. (2010). Monitoring alcohol & drug abuse trends in South Africa. *South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU)*, 13(2), 1–15.
- Pluddemann, A., Parry, C., Bhana, A., Harker, N., Potgieter, H., Gerber, W., & Johnson, C. (2004). Monitoring alcohol and drug abuse trends in South Africa. The South African community epidemiology network on drug Use (SACENDU). Retrieved from <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/2079> on 25 August 2015.
- Reboussin, B. A., Song, E., Shrestha, A., Lohman, K. K., & Wolfson, M. (2006). A latent class analysis of underage problem drinking: Evidence from a community sample of 16–20 year olds. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 83, 199–209.
- Redgrave, K., & Limmer M. (2005). “It makes you more up for it”: School aged young people’s perspectives on alcohol and sexual health. Report by Rochdale Teenage Pregnancy Service. London, UK.
- Reich, R. R., Below, M. C., & Goldman, M. S. (2010). Explicit and implicit measures of expectancy and related alcohol cognitions: A meta-analytic comparison. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, 24(1), 13–25.
- Reichenbach, H. (1938). *Experience and prediction*. United States of America, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Reddy, S.P., James, S., Sewpaul, R., Koopman, F., Funani, N.I., Sifunda, S., Josie, J., Masuka, P., Kambaran, N.S., & Omardien, R.G. (2010). Umthente Uhlaba Usamila – The South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2008. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

- Richter, L., Panday, S., Emmett, T., Makiwane, M., Du Toit, R., Brooks, H., . . . Mukhara, M. (2006). *Young people in South Africa: The status of youth, final report, 2003*. Research commissioned by the Umsobomvu Youth Fund. Pretoria, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Rocha-Silva, L. (1998). Substance use on the rise in South Africa. *In Focus Forum*, 5(3), 51–53.
- Rossow, I., Keating, P., Felix, L., & McCamridge, J. (2015). Does parental drinking influence children's drinking? A systematic review of prospective cohort studies. *Addiction*, 111(2), 204–217.
- Russell, A., Lewis, S., Matthijisse, M., & Masson, K. (2011). *Revealing alcohol narratives. A qualitative study of young people's relationships with alcohol in County Durham and Darlington*. Retrieved on 25 August 2015 from <http://www.nepho.org.uk/ndtms/alcohol>
- Ryan, S. M., Jorm, A. F., Kelly, C. M., Hart, L. M., Morgan, A. J., & Lubman, D. I. (2011). Parenting strategies for reducing adolescent alcohol use: A Delphi consensus study. *BMC Public Health*, 11(13), 1–8.
- Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. F., & Silverman, D. (2007). *Qualitative research in practice*. London, UK: Thousand Oakes, SAGE Publications.
- Seggie, J. (2012). Alcohol and South Africa's youth. *The South African Medical Journal*, 102(7). Retrieved from <http://www.samj.org.za/index.php/samj/article/view/6003/4278>
- Shaffer, D. R., Kipp, K., Wood, E., & Willoughby, T. (2013). *Developmental psychology childhood and adolescence* (4th ed.). Toronto, Canada: Nelson Education Ltd.
- Sheehan, M., & Ridge, D. (2001). 'You become really close ... you talk about all the silly things you did, and we laugh': The role of binge drinking in female secondary students' lives. *Substance Use and Misuse*, 36, 347–375.
- Shulman, E. P., & Cauffman, E. (2014). Deciding in the dark: Age differences in intuitive risk judgment. *Developmental Psychology*, 50(1), 167–177.
- Simon, D. (1998). Drugs, development and the post-apartheid transition in South Africa. *Urban Health and Development Bulletin*, 1(4), 35–39.

- Silverman, D. (2000). Doing qualitative research. *A practical handbook*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research*. (2nd ed.). London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Singer, J. (1997). *Message in a bottle: Stories of men and addiction*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Siviroj, P., Peltzer, K., Pengpid, S., Yungyen, Y., & Chaichana, A. (2012). Drinking motives, sensation seeking, and alcohol use among Thai high school students. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 40(8), 1255–1262.
- Smith, G. T., Goldman, M. S., Greenbaum, P. E., & Christiansen, B.A. (1995). *Expectancy for social facilitation from drinking*: The divergent paths of high-expectancy and low-expectancy adolescents. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 104(1), 32–40.
- Song, E. Y., Smiler, A. P., Wagoner, K. G., & Wolfson, M. (2012). Everyone says it's ok: Adolescents' perceptions of peer, parent, and community alcohol norms, alcohol consumption, and alcohol-related consequences. *Subst Use Misuse*, 47(1), 86–98.
- Spooner, C., & Hetherington, K. (2005). *The social determinants of drug use*, National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, Sydney, Australia.
- Spoth, R., Redmond, C., & Shin, C. (2000). Modeling factors influencing enrollment in family-focused preventive intervention research. *Prevention Science*, 1(4), 213–225.
- Stake, R. E. (2010). *Qualitative research. Studying how things work*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Steinberg, L. (2010). A dual systems model of adolescent risk-taking. *Developmental Psychology*, 52(3), 216–224.
- Steinberg, L., Albert, D., Cauffman, E., Banich, M., Graham, S., & Woolard, J. (2008). Age differences in sensation seeking and impulsivity as indexed by behavior and self-report: Evidence for a dual systems model. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(6), 1764–1778.
- Stolle, M., Sack, P. M., & Tomasius, R. (2009). Binge drinking in childhood and adolescence. Epidemiology, consequences, and interventions. *Deutsches Arzteblatt International*, 106(19), 323–328.

- Sussman, S., & Ames, S. L. (2001). *The social psychology of drug abuse*. London, UK: Open University Press.
- Swart, E., & Pettipher, R. (2005). A framework for understanding conclusions. In E. Landsberg (Ed.), *Addressing barriers to learning. A South African perspective* (pp. 3–23). Pretoria, South Africa: Van Schaik.
- Szmigin, I., Griffin, C., Mistral, W., Bengry-Howell, A., Weale, L., & Hackley, C. (2007). Re-framing ‘binge drinking’ as calculated hedonism—empirical evidence from the UK. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 19(5), 359–366.
- Tafa, M., & Baiocco, R. (2009). Addictive behaviour and family functioning during adolescence. *American Journal of Family Therapy*, 37, 388–395.
- Tart, C. (1986). *Waking up: Overcoming the obstacles to human potential*. Boston, MA: Shambhala.
- Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (1999). *Research in practice, applied methods in social sciences*. Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.
- Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (2014). Histories of the present: social science research in context. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice. Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 1-17). Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.
- Terre Blanche, M., Kelly, K., & Durrheim, K. (2014). Qualitative research techniques. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice. Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 271-370). Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.
- The Liquor Act 2003*. (26 April 2004). Retrieved from <http://www.westerncape.gov.za/legislation/liquor-act-59-2003>
- Tolman, E. C. (1959). Principles of purposive behavior. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A study of a science. General systematic formulations, learning and special processes* (pp. 92-157). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Tutenges, S., & Sandberg, S. (2013). Intoxicating stories: The characteristics, contexts and implications of drinking stories among Danish youth. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 24, 538–544.

- Vakalahi, H. (2001). Adolescent substance use and family-based risk and protective factors: A literature review. *Journal of Drug Education*, 31, 29–46.
- Vermeiren, R., Schwab-Stone, M., Deboutte, D., Leckman, P. E., & Ruchkin, V. (2003). Violence exposure and substance use in adolescents: Findings from three countries. *Pediatrics*, 111, 535–540.
- Visser, M., & Routledge, L. (2007). Substance abuse and psychological well-being of South African adolescents. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 37(3), 595–615.
- Wagenaar, A. C., Finnegan, J. R., Wolfson, M., Anstine, P. S., Williams, C. L. & Perry, C. L. (1993). Where and how adolescents obtain alcoholic beverages. *Public Health Reports*, 108, 459–464.
- Wall, A. M., Thrussell, C., & Lalonde, R. N. (2003). Do alcohol expectancies become intoxicated outcomes? A test of social-learning theory in a naturalistic bar setting. *Addictive Behaviours*, 28, 1271–1283.
- Warren, C. A. B. (1988). *Gender issues in field research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Wassenaar, D. (2014). Ethical issues in social science research. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 61–79). Cape Town, South Africa: Juta Company Ltd.
- Workman, T. (2001). Finding the meanings of college drinking: An analysis of fraternity drinking stories. *Health Communication*, 13, 427–447.
- Young, A. M., Morales, M., McCabe, S. E., Boyd, C. J., & D’Arcy, H. (2005). Drinking like a guy: Frequent binge drinking among undergraduate women. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 40, 241–267.
- Zinzow, H. M., Ruggiero, K. J., Resnick, H. S., Hanson, R., Smith, D., Saunders, B., & Kilpatrick, D. G. (2009). Prevalence and mental health correlates of witnessed parental and community violence in a national sample of adolescents. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 50, 441–450.

Appendix A: Ethics Committee permission



UNIVERSITEIT-STELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
JOU KENNISVERMOEEN • YOUR KNOWLEDGE PARTNER

Approval Notice Response to Modifications- (New Application)

22-Jul-2015
Marais, Ilse IL

Proposal #: HS1189/2015

Title: High school learners' narratives about binge drinking behaviour

Dear Mrs Ilse Marais,

Your Response to Modifications - (*New Application*) received on 30-Jun-2015, was reviewed by members of the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities) via Expedited review procedures on 21-Jul-2015 and was approved. Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: 21-Jul-2015 -20-Jul-2016

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

Please remember to use your proposal number (HS1189/2015) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 218089183.

Included Documents:

REVISED_Assent form

REVISED_Response to Modifications

Assent form

DESC Checklist form

REVISED_Assent form_focus group

REC Application form

Research Proposal

Permission letter_WCED

REVISED_Interview schedule

REVISED_Informed consent form_parents_AFR

Appendix B: Permission Letter from Western Cape Education Department

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za

tel: +27 021 467 9272

Fax: 0865902282

Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000

wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20150312-44901

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Ms Ilse Marais
54 Villiera
Plataan Street
Durbanville
7550

Dear Ms Ilse Marais

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: HIGH SCHOOL LEARNERS' NARRATIVES ABOUT BINGE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **01 May 2015 till 30 July 2015**.
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number.
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

**The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

Directorate: Research

DATE: 12 March 2015

Appendix C: Permission Letter from school

Die Hoof

XXXX

XXXX

27 Februarie 2015

Versoek om 'n studie te doen te XXX.

Titel van studie: Tieners se stories oor oormatige drinkgewoontes.

Ek is tans geregistreer as 'n meesters-student in die Departement Opvoedkundige Sielkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Om my graad suksesvol af te handel, vereis dit 'n tesis waarvoor ek navorsing moet doen. Daar word ook vereis dat ek toestemming van die Weskaap Departement van Onderwys, sowel as die skool waar ek beplan om die studie te doen.

Hoërskool XXX voldoen aan die kriteria om deelnemers te kies vir die navorsing, volgens die ontwerp van my voorgestelde studie. Dus vra ek u toestemming om navorsing in u skool te doen. Die fokus van my studie is om tieners se stories oor oormatige drinkgewoontes te verken. Daarom sal ek graag die Graad 11 leerders wil vra om 'n opstel te skryf en sodoende stories oor oormatige drinkgewoontes te deel wat dan as die navorsing sal dien.

Die navorsing sal in twee fases plaasvind gedurende April en Mei. Die eerste fase behels die verduideliking van die konfidensialiteits- en anonimiteitsooreenkoms en die teken van toestemmingsvorme deur die deelnemers. Die laaste fase behels die insameling van die data deur middel van opstelle wat die Graad 11-leerders sal skryf.

Dit sal hoog op prys gestel word indien u vir my toestemming kan verleen om die navorsing in u skool te doen. Die stories van Graad 11-leerders oor tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes, sal ryk data voorsien wat ek kan gebruik vir my studie en ook later kan gebruik in voorkomingsprogramme om moontlike drankmisbruik onder tieners aan te spreek.

Vriendelike groete,

Ilouise Marais

Hiermee gee ek.....skoolhoof van Hoërskool XXX
toestemming dat Me Ilse Louise Marais navorsing in hierdie skool mag doen.

Geteken te.....op hierdie.....dag van.....2015.

Appendix D: Participant's consent form

INLIGTINGSTUK EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR DEELNEMERS

| | |
|---|----------------------------------|
|  | UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH |
|---|----------------------------------|

TITEL VAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK: Tieners se stories oor oormatige drinkgewoontes.

NAVORSER(S): Me Ilse Louise Marais

ADRES: Villieria 54
Plataanstraat
Durbanville
7530

KONTAKNOMMER: 084 9999 711

Wat is navorsing?

Deur navorsing leer ons hoe dinge (en mense) werk. Ons gebruik navorsingsprojekte of -studies om meer oor siektes uit te vind. Navorsing leer ons ook hoe om siek kinders beter te help of te behandel.

Waaroor gaan hierdie navorsingsprojek?

Hierdie navorsingsprojek handel oor sommige tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes. Baie tieners eksperimenteer met drank en raak betrokke in situasies waar daar oormatige drank misbruik word. Die navorsingsprojek sal poog om inligting in te samel oor waarom en hoe tieners oormatige drinkgewoontes het. Die studie sal ook poog om die verskil, indien enige, te identifiseer tussen meisies en seuns wat oormatige drinkgewoontes het. Die navorsing sal in twee fases ingesamel word. Fase 1 behels dat deelnemers opstelle skryf. Fase 2 is 'n fokusgroepgesprek met die leerders wat aangedui het dat hul aan die verdere navorsing sal deelneem.

Hoekom vra julle my om aan hierdie navorsingsprojek deel te neem?

Die redes waarom jy gevra word om aan hierdie navorsingsprojek deel te neem is omdat jou storie oor oormatige dringewoontes belangrike data kan wees vir die projek. Jy is ook in Graad 11 en is dus 'n geskikte kandidaat vir hierdie projek omdat jy miskien al sulke stories gehoor het.

Wie doen die navorsing?

Me Ilse Louise Marais doen die navorsing vir hierdie projek tesame met 'n studieleier, Prof R Carolissen van die Departement Opvoedkundige Sielkunde, Universiteit Stellenbosch. Die navorser onderneem hierdie projek omdat dit deel is van haar kursus (MA in Opvoedkundige Sielkunde) en omdat sy baie belangstel in tieners en wat hulle dink oor sekere onderwerpe soos oormatige drinkgewoontes.

Wat sal in hierdie studie met my gebeur?

Fase 1

Daar sal van jou verwag word om 'n opstel te skryf in die taal van jou keuse. Die opstel moet handel oor jou storie oor tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes. Jy sal 1 uur hê om die opstel te voltooi. Jy moet asseblief jou geslag (manlik of vroulik) en jou ouderdom bo aan jou opstel aandui.

Die opstel word as vertroulik beskou, maar om jou identiteit te beskerm, kan jy gebruik maak van 'n skuilnaam.

Daar sal van jou verwag word om 'n storie te skryf oor tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes en om enige van die volgende punte in jou opstel te dek:

- *'n Storie oor tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes.*
- *Wanneer, waar en hoe tieners betrokke is by oormatige drinkgewoontes.*
- *Wat is die aard van seuns en/of dogters se oormatige drinkgewoontes en is daar 'n verskil tussen die twee geslagte se drinkgewoontes?*
- *Wat is die verskil tussen seuns en meisies se oormatige drinkgewoontes?*
- *Wat is tieners se siening oor intervensie- en voorkomingsprogramme oor oormatige drinkgewoontes: wat moet dit behels en is dit nodig? Waarom?*

Verskaf ook jou opstel met 'n gepaste titel.

Fase 2

Indien jy sou instem sal 'n verdere fokusgroep gehou word met dié leerders wat aandui dat hul sal deelneem aan 'n gesprek met die navorser en ongeveer 10 ander leerders. Jy kan onder op hierdie vorm vrywilliglik aandui indien jy wil deelneem aan die gesprek.

Oormatige drinkgewoontes kan gedefinieer word as wanneer meisies meer as 4 drankies en seuns meer as 5 alkoholiese drankies binne 2 ure drink.

Kan enigiets fout gaan?

Daar kan nie iets fout gaan gedurende die inligtinginsameling nie. Indien jy ongemaklik voel om deel te neem of om oor sekere onderwerpe te skryf, moet jy asseblief die navorser in kennis stel.

Watter goeie dinge kan in die studie met my gebeur?

Die studie hou voordele in vir die navorsingsveld deur 'n bydrae te maak tot die reeds bestaande navorsing oor tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes. Behalwe vir jou bydrae as deelnemer is daar geen ander voordele vir die deelnemers nie.

Sal enigiemand weet ek neem deel?

Jou deelname in hierdie studie sal vertroulik bly, maar die inligting wat ingesamel word sal wel aan die studieleier bekend gemaak word. Die skuilnaam wat jy gebruik sal verhoed dat enige iemand jou kan koppel aan die spesifieke inligting wat ingesamel word.



Met wie kan ek oor die studie praat?

Jy kan enige tyd met Me I Marais (0849999711) of Prof R Carolissen (021- 808 2306/8) praat indien jy enige vrae oor of probleme met die studie het.

Wat gebeur as ek nie wil deelneem nie?

Enige deelnemer mag weier om deel te neem, selfs al het hulle ouers ingestem dat hul aan die studie mag deelneem. Indien 'n deelnemer enige tyd gedurende die studie wil ontrek staan dit hom/haar vry om so te doen. Daar sal geensins negatiewe gevolge wees indien 'n deelnemer besluit om van die studie te onttrek nie.

Verstaan jy hierdie navorsingstudie, en wil jy daaraan deelneem?

JA

NEE

Het die navorser ál jou vrae beantwoord?

JA

NEE

Verstaan jy dat jy kan ophou deelneem net wanneer jy wil?

JA

NEE

Sal jy deelneem aan 'n verdere fokusgroep-gesprek?

JA

NEE

Indien “ja” verskaf asseblief jou selfoonnommer sodat die navorser jou kan kontak. _____

Handtekening van kind

Datum



UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH

INLIGTINGSTUK EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR DEELNEMERS

TITEL VAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK: Tieners se stories oor oormatige drinkgewoontes.

NAVORSER(S): Me Ilse Louise Marais

ADRES: Villieria 54
Plataanstraat
Durbanville
7530

KONTAKNOMMER: 084 9999 711

Wat is navorsing?

Deur navorsing leer ons hoe dinge (en mense) werk. Ons gebruik navorsingsprojekte of -studies om meer oor siektes uit te vind. Navorsing leer ons ook hoe om siek kinders beter te help of te behandel.

Waaroor gaan hierdie navorsingsprojek?

Hierdie navorsingsprojek handel oor sommige tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes. Baie tieners eksperimenteer met drank en raak betrokke in situasies waar daar oormatige drank misbruik word. Die navorsingsprojek sal poog om inligting in te samel oor waarom en hoe tieners oormatige drinkgewoontes het. Die studie sal ook poog om die verskil, indien enige, te identifiseer tussen meisies en seuns wat oormatige drinkgewoontes het.

Hoekom vra julle my om aan hierdie navorsingsprojek deel te neem?

Die redes waarom jy gevra word om aan hierdie navorsingsprojek deel te neem is omdat jou storie oor oormatige drinkgewoontes belangrike data kan wees vir die projek. Jy het reeds aan fase een deelgeneem en het aangedui dat jy sal deelneem aan 'n fokusgroepgesprek.

Wie doen die navorsing?

Me Ilse Louise Marais doen die navorsing vir hierdie projek tesame met 'n studieleier, Prof R Carolissen van die Departement Opvoedkundige Sielkunde, Universiteit Stellenbosch. Die navorser onderneem hierdie projek omdat dit deel is van haar kursus (MA in Opvoedkundige Sielkunde) en omdat sy baie belangstel in tieners en wat hulle dink oor sekere onderwerpe soos oormatige drinkgewoontes.

Wat sal in hierdie studie met my gebeur?

Daar sal van jou verwag word om 'n gesprek by te woon saam met ongeveer 8 ander tieners en die navorser. Die bespreking sal ongeveer 1 uur duur en sal handel oor temas wat uit die opstelle verkry is. Verdere kwessies uit die opstelle sal ook bespreek word.

Kan enigiets fout gaan?

Daar kan nie iets fout gaan gedurende die inligtinginsameling nie. Indien jy ongemaklik voel om deel te neem of om oor sekere onderwerpe te gesels, moet jy asseblief die navorser in kennis stel.

Watter goeie dinge kan in die studie met my gebeur?

Die studie hou voordele in vir die navorsingsveld deur 'n bydrae te maak tot die reeds bestaande navorsing oor tieners se oormatige drinkgewoontes. Behalwe vir jou bydrae as deelnemer is daar geen ander voordele vir die deelnemers nie.

Sal enigiemand weet ek neem deel?

Jou deelname in hierdie studie sal vertroulik bly, maar die inligting wat ingesamel word sal wel aan die studieleier bekend gemaak word. Jy kan 'n ander skuilnaam gebruik as die een wat jy gebruik het vir die opstel sodat jou opstel nie geïdentifiseer kan word nie. Die skuilnaam wat jy gebruik sal verhoed dat enige iemand jou kan koppel aan die spesifieke inligting wat ingesamel word tydens die fokusgroepgesprek.

Met wie kan ek oor die studie praat?

Jy kan enige tyd met Me I Marais (0849999711) of Prof R Carolissen (021- 808 2306/8), praat indien jy enige vrae oor of probleme met die studie het.

Wat gebeur as ek nie wil deelneem nie?

Enige deelnemer mag weier om deel te neem, selfs al het hulle ouers ingestem dat hul aan die studie mag deelneem. Indien 'n deelnemer enige tyd gedurende die studie wil onttrek staan dit hom/haar vry om so te doen. Daar sal geensins negatiewe gevolge wees indien 'n deelnemer besluit om van die studie te onttrek nie.

Verstaan jy hierdie navorsingstudie, en wil jy daaraan deelneem?

☐ JA

☐ NEE

Het die navorser ál jou vrae beantwoord?

☐ JA

☐ NEE

Verstaan jy dat jy kan ophou deelneem net wanneer jy wil?

☐ JA

☐ NEE

Handtekening van kind

Datum

Appendix E: Example of identified themes in essays

Wolk
GPD Vir seuns is drink 'n naweeklikse ding. Elke naweek ^{www}sonstyn of reën is daar 'n oormatige drinkery. Wie die meeste kan drink wys of jy die Alfa is of net een van die Wolfies. Die seun wie die meeste kuier word as daai groep se leier gesien en sy status word baie verhoog.

GPD By dogters is die gebruik van drank nie so 'n algemene ding nie. Dogters word beoordeel vir hul drink gewoontes, waar seuns toe gejuig word. Die oormatige gebruik van drank affekteer definitief dogters meer as seuns. Dit laer ons standarde en help ons om slegte keuses te maak. Talle meisies het al drank blameer vir hul onbeplande swangerskaps en of die ontvanging van MIV/VIGS en STD's. (EF)

My vriendin se eerste keer was 'n baie moeilike ding vir my om toe te kyk.

Om die waarheid te sê sy kan enige seun onder die tafel in drink en sal altyd die laaste een wees wat nog staan by kuiers. Hierdie spesifieke kuier het sy en die seun waarop sy dol verlief was, albei te veel gedrink en was

Appendix F: Original Afrikaans extracts

- Q1: *“By kuiers rook mense en drink soos visse. Kinders maak net seker hul het slaapplek vir die aand en dan drink hulle sonder ophou wanneer ouers gaan slaap het. Dit gebeur meeste van die kere op Vrydae- en Saterdag-aande maar daar is party wat nie omgee om in die middel van die week te drink nie”* (P-3M)
- Q2: *“Tieners slaap by mekaar oor, dan kan hulle baie drink”* (P-12M)
- Q3: *“Hulle gaan nie meer na kuiers om hulle vriende te sien of met hulle te gesels nie, maar gaan daarna toe om saam met hulle vriende te drink”* (P-46M)
- Q4: *“tieners groei baarde en gaan dan in klubs in en gaan kuier soms daar”* (P-14M)
- Q5: *“My een vriendin het ‘n broer van 20 en hy koop gewoonlik vir haar drank, sy vat die drank saam in ‘n rugsak en dan drink sy en haar vriende dit by die kuiers”* (P-11F)
- Q6: *“Kinders kry iemand wat 18 is om vir jou te gaan koop of iemand se ouer broers gaan koop drank”* (P-15M)
- Q7: *“Koop net self drank by gewone winkels en shebeens”* (P-27M)
- Q8: *“Drankwinkels verkoop sonder om te vra hoe oud hulle is”* (P-40M)
- Q9: *“Die woord kuier word anders deesdae gebruik tussen tieners. ‘n Kuier het altyd drank”* (P-31M)
- Q10: *“Wat by ‘n kuier gebeur, bly by ‘n kuier. Daar is definitief drank by elke kuier. Dit is ‘n realiteit...”* (P-36M)
- Q11: *“By kuiers (partytjies) vanaf gr. 9 sal mens begin om drank by partytjies te kry. Op daai ouderdom sal die seuns meer / vroeër begin om te drink waar meisies van graad 10 af sal begin.”* (P-6M)
- Q12: *“Van die tieners is oud genoeg en dan is daar van hulle wat te jonk is, soos kinders wat tussen die ouderdom van 13 en 14 is.”* (P-30M)
- Q13: *“Tieners is op die ouderdom waar hulle maklik beïnvloed kan word en is besig om volwasse te raak en wil soos ‘n volwassene optree”* (P-41M).
- Q14: *“Tieners wil dikwels eksperimenteer met nuwe dinge soos drank, rook ens.”* (P-7F)
- Q15: *“Tieners het die reg om stadig maar seker te eksperimenteer, anders as hul die reg het om dit legal te doen, gaan hul dit nie reg kan hanteer nie en oorboord gaan. Dit is goed om nou al te*

begin drink anders gaan mens op universiteit uithak en elke aand van jou lewe drink en dan dom raak en vet raak en mens gaan dan 'n alkoholis raak" (P-3M)

- Q16: *"Dit leer tieners van vroeg al af om met drank te werk sodat wanneer hulle 18 word, hulle nie hulself pap drink en nie mal gaan nie. Dit leer vir hul verantwoordelikheid" (P-36M)*
- Q17: *"Ek glo nie dat alle tieners vir dieselfde rede drink nie. 'n Mens kan seker dit opdeel in groepe. Die wat drink omdat hulle baie van die gevoel hou, die wat drink om aandag te soek, die wat drink omdat hulle rou en die wat drink vir die geselligheid...val die meeste tieners in by die geselligheid-afdeling. Alkohol breek baie mense se vooropgestelde idees en sosiale probleme af wat dit makliker maak om by kuiers met nuwe mense te praat of om eerlik te wees met jou vriende" (P-15M)*
- Q18: *"Ek dink tieners drink om opstandig te wees en omdat dit 'n gevoel van plesier gee" (P-38M)*
- Q19: *"Dit is asof hulle nie hulself of ander mense kan geniet sonder hierdie dwelms of drank nie" (P-13F)*
- Q20: *"Meeste tieners drink omdat hulle wil in wees of hulle wil 'n goeie tyd hê bv by 'n partytjie of 'n kuier. Tieners kom nie agter dat jy nie hoef te drink om fun te hê nie" (P-55F)*
- Q21: *"Ek dink hoekom tieners drink is half omdat dit illegal is. Party mense wil dit doen omdat hul nie mag nie, want hoe ouer jy word, raak dit verveliger en as jy agtien is wanneer jy mag, is dit nie meer so big deal nie" (P-10F)*
- Q22: *"Drank tussen tieners is inevitable en ek kan nie wag om oor hierdie stage of life te kom nie en mense te ontmoet wat nie so wreed is soos hulle nie" (P-17M)*
- Q23: *"Dit is gewoonlik groepsdruk of net groepskeuse wat alles begin" (P-2F)*
- Q24: *"Deesdae is dit die in-ding dat tieners ver oor hulle limits gaan wanneer dit kom by kuiers. In meeste gevalle probeer hulle hul vriende impress. Kuier, kuier kuier, vir my lyk dit wanneer tieners daardie woord hoor, of van dit luister, slaan hulle gedagtes oor en fokus net op drank...die een wil altyd sterker drank drink as die ander een..." (P-12M)*
- Q25: *"Die probleem was dat hulle gedink het dis cool om te drink en dis wat gewone tieners doen" (P-57M)*
- Q26: *"Tieners drink baie om net in te pas" (P-58M)*
- Q27: *"Die groot vraag altyd by 'n kuier, hoekom drink jy nie? As jy wel drink, waarom is dit so ligte drankie? Vir seuns moet hulle sterk brandewyn of whisky drink en geen ligte cider soos wat meisies drink nie, anders word jy beskou as 'n moffie" (P-18F)*
- Q28: *"Meeste tieners is nog half en half vervreemd van alkohol en steur hulle nie aan die feit dat jy rustig moet drink nie. Vir baie tieners is dit 'n kompetisie om te kyk wie kan die vinnigste*

dronk raak en wie die dronkste kan raak...by kuiers word die alkohol soos koeldrank gedrink, as daar alkohol is voel mens verplig om te drink om net in te pas” (P-23M)

- Q29: *“Tieners raak gewoonlik net by kuiers dronk...dis hul geleentheid om te wys wat hulle als gedoen het en doen bv om te wys hoeveel jy kan drink, dat jy enige meisie kan kry, dat jy baie dagga of weed rook sonder om hoog te raak” (P-13F)*
- Q30: *“Dit het alles erg geraak vir hom...hy het niemand om na te draai nie...geen vriende nie, sy ouers is ver weg en sy meisie is ook weg...a.g.v hierdie negatiewe druk kon hy dit nie meer vat nie. Hy breek toe en het niemand om hom op te help behalwe drank nie... die seun raak toe ‘n suiplap.” (P-22M)*
- Q31: *“‘n Ander invloed van drank, nie net in grootmense se lewe nie, maar ook in tieners s’n, is wanneer hulle emosioneel raak. Sekere tieners drink wanneer hulle hartseer is” (P-30M)*
- Q32: *“Die mense wat drink omdat hulle aandag soek en die wat drink omdat hulle ongelukkig is, gaan baie keer hand aan hand. As mense ongelukkig is in hulle huis-omstandighede sal hulle baie keer dié wees wat hard en irreterend is omdat hulle net liefde en aandag soek” (P-51M)*
- Q33: *“Hulle sien dit as ‘n manier om te vergeet van alles, al hul probleme en geldsake of skoolwerk. Kinders moet agterkom dit is nie hulle worries nie...geld is hulle ouers se worries en skoolwerk...jy moet deur dit gaan, anders waar kom jy in die lewe?” (P-55F)*
- Q34: *“As jy nou vir ‘n tiener vra hoekom hulle drink, sal die meeste sê omdat hulle probleme het...” (P-73F)*
- Q35: *“Die jongmense van vandag gebruik meestal drank as ‘n verskoning om hulle probleme van vandag op te los” (P-75F)*
- Q36: *“...en dan dink hulle hulle kan hul probleme wegdrink” (P-77F)*
- Q37: *“Ek persoonlik dink tieners drink omdat daar te veel druk op hul gesit is. SKOOL, SPORT, OUERS en hul wil net ontsnap” (P-11F)*
- Q38: *“Ek dink tieners van vandag wil net wegom van hul omstandighede en net vir ‘n rukkie gelukkig voel en dis hoekom hulle drink en dwelms gebruik. Meeste van my persoonlike vriende is depressielyers of het slegte omstandighede by die huis. Ek blameer hul glad nie om te wil wegbreek nie. Tydens puberteit hardloop ‘n mens se hormone sirkels om die aarde. Hulle voel depressief, mismoenig, verwerp ens. Drank kan jou laat ontsnap van daardie realiteit, dit laat hulle vir ‘n klein oomblik vergeet van al die sleg in die lewe” (P-29F)*
- Q39: *“Die samelewing ruk hand uit, al wat jy hoor op ‘n Maandag is hoe gesuip of gerook almal was. Tieners spandeer hoeveel van hulle sakgeld op drank en sigarette. En hulle*

drink nie vir die lekker nie, hulle raak dronk. En dit is nie net so nou en dan nie, dis elke naweek...en ouers weet dit nie. Die ouers dink hulle kinders is engeltjies” (P-76M)

- Q40: *“Die ouers is daar, maar hulle weet nie wat aangaan nie...die seun wie se huis dit was, se pa was tuis maar hy het TV gekyk en hy kon nie die hele tyd sien wat aangaan nie” (P-2F).*
- Q41: *“Jou ouers moet nooit weet saam met wie jy uithang nie” (P-12M)*
- Q42: *“Ouers en onderwysers is nie so goed ingelig soos hulle dink daaroor nie. Die oulikste dogtertjie en selfs die mees onskuldigste tieners het darem al een keer by ‘n kuier gedrink. Ouers sal van niks weet nie en hulle oulike kinders sal daarmee wegkom” (P-36M)*
- Q43: *“Daar is selfs kere wat tieners hulle ouers so erg dronk sien en sien goed doen wat hulle nie moet doen nie. Sommige leerders sien hierdie gebeurtenisse en onthou dit in hul brein en party dink en wens dat hulle graag so wil voel soos hulle ouers het”(P-31M)*
- Q44: *“Vandag se ouers is die hooforsaak van tieners wat drink. Hulle sien wat hulle ouers doen en dit lyk lekkerer dan wil hulle dit ook uitprobeer. Monkey see, monkey do...” (P-56M)*
- Q45: *“Sekere tieners drink as gevolg van hulle ouers wat drink. As die ouers ‘n slegte rolmodel is en nie vir sy kind leer hy/sy mag eers drink wanneer hulle oud genoeg is nie, dan sal hulle self op ‘n jong ouderdom leer. Die ergste is dat partykeer leer die ouers vir die kinders hoe om te drink, so die tieners kort goeie ouers wat hulle sal reg leer”(P-36M)*
- Q46: *“Daar is tieners se ouers wat weet hulle kinders suip soos ‘n vis. Baie van daai ouers is betrokke en sit en kyk TV terwyl die tieners baljaar. Ouers sal eerder verkies dat hulle kinders voor hulle sal drink as agter hul rug. Ander ouers bied selfs vir hulle kinders twee shots van net Vodka aan omdat die ouers self hewig drink. Meeste van die tieners het drinkgewoontes omdat hulle ouers voor hulle drink” (P-72M)*
- Q47: *“Haar ouers weet sy drink en hulle koop die drank. As ‘n kind groot word met ouers wat baie drink of hulle is heeltyd rondom mense wat baie drink, is hulle meer geneig om dieselfde paadjie te loop en ook verkeerde besluite te neem. My een vriend se ma koop drank en sy laat toe dat hy by haar huis drink en baie drink. Sy laat hulle partykeer ook shots drink en al die verskillende tipes” (P-17F)*
- Q48: *“Kinders drink saam met hulle ouers en beheer hul ouers, want daar is geen reëls of orde in daardie huis nie” (P-62M)*
- Q49: *“Drank laer mens se inhibisies en kan jou maak goed doen wat jy nooit voorheen sou gedoen het nie. As mens onder die invloed van drank is, is daar nie ‘n reg of verkeerd*

nie en daar is geen skuldgevoelnes nie en die klein stemmetjie wat altyd as 'n hulpmiddel in 'n mens se kop praat, word verdoof" (P-1F)

- Q50: *"Talle meisies het al drank blameer vir hul onbeplande swangerskappe en of die opdoen van van MIV/VIGS en STD's"* (P-1F)
- Q51: *"Tiener drinkery lei gewoonlik tot mense wat vry en ander seksuele dade doen omdat hulle onder die invloed is"* (P-38M)
- Q52: *"Ouers is gebel en kinders is beskuldig van goed wat sommige ouers gedink het hul kind nooit sal doen nie"* (P-7F)
- Q53: *"Alkohol maak dat mense hul inhibisies verloor en baie kwesbaar is en morele waardes daal gewoonlik. Seks is dan 'n groot moontlikheid by 'n kuier waar daar alkohol is, veral met 'n klomp seksbehepte tieners. Tienerswangerskappe is dan ook 'n groter moontlikheid, want hulle is nie by hul volle bewussyn nie en vergeet om 'n kondoom te gebruik of dink nie op daardie oomblik aan die nagevolge van die aksies nie"* (P-29F)
- Q54: *"Tieners se oormatige drinkprobleem is baie skokkend in vandag se tyd. Soos tieners raak sommige kere so dronk dat hulle niks beheer het nie. Sommige kere vang hulle die mees domste goed aan soos het seks en raak swanger."* (P-57M)
- Q55: *"As dit laataand raak en die meeste van die tieners is al weg, begin die klein klompies mense wat oorbly by die kuier soek na iets "interessants" om te doen en dis gewoonlik waar die moeilikheid kom. En as jy nog nie 'n meisie gevat het nie, is dit tyd om die meisie te kies wat jy nie normaalweg sou vat nie. Sy is gewoonlik die enigste meisie wat oorbly. Hoe later die kuier raak, hoe meer desperaat raak die meisies en seuns"* (P-13F)
- Q56: *"Ek het al gehoor van iemand wat gehallusineer het en gedink het sy is 'n piesang, sy het haar klere toe voor almal uitgetrek en gesê sy is 'n piesang wat haarself afskil"* (P-18F)
- Q57: *"Sommige van hulle weet as die skroef begin los draai (kop begin uithak) dan word daar goed gedoen en gesê soos nog nooit te vore nie. Dan kry sommige mense die ding met die naam Hang-over"* (P-12M)
- Q58: *"Meeste tieners weet nie waar om te stop nie, waar om die lyn te trek nie....toe daar by die badkamer kom, braak hy orals..."* (P-18F)
- Q59: *"toe gooi sy op...sy was vir my altyd pragtig, maar na daardie gebeurtenis sal ek nooit weer na haar op dieselfde manier kyk nie"* (P-25M)
- Q60: *"Die kuiers begin 8 uur en as jy presies 8uur daar opdaag, is daar klaar kinders, uitgestrek op die grasperk besig om te braak of het hulself bewusteloos gedrink en lê nou in hulle eie braaksel"* (P-29F)

- Q61: *“Die een kind se oë het begin omdop en het in ‘n soort skok ingegaan. Dit was baie erg om te beleef...” (P-39M)*
- Q62: *“Drank het al voorheen mense in die hospitaal gesit en albei was so dronk, een het dit deurgemaak, maar die ander een se liggaam het in skok gegaan agv drie mense wat een bottel Vodka gedeel het binne 5min” (P-42M)*
- Q63: *“Op daai ouderdom sal die seuns vroeër begin om te drink waar die meisies van gr 10 sal begin drink. Volgens my word meisies vinniger gehook aan drank as seuns” (P-6M)*
- Q64: *“Dit is seuns wat eerste drank na ‘n kuier toe sal neem en die meisies is aanvanklik te bang, maar mettertyd raak die meisies gemakliker en in baie gevalle sal die meisies meer drank soek en meer as die seuns drink” (P-15M)*
- Q65: *“Vir seuns is drink ‘n naweeklikste ding. Elke naweek, sonskyn of reën, is daar oormatige drinkery. Wie die meeste kan drink wys of jy die alfa is of net een van die wolfies. Die seun wie die meeste kuier, word as daai groep se leier gesien en sy status word baie verhoog. Dogters word beoordeel op hulle drangkewoontes, waar seuns toegejuig word. (P-1F)*
- Q66: *“Meisies word erg beoordeel as hulle drink waar seuns aangemoedig word” (P-20M)*
- Q67: *“Seuns drink definitief meer as meisies. Dit is eintlik irreterend as ‘n meisie drink, want hulle doen dit net om in te wees en die ouens te beïndruk en die ouens doen dit net om meer selfvertroue te kry” (P-33M)*
- Q68: *“Seuns sal baie keer as daar meisies is drink om meer confidence te kry en meer gewillig is om met hulle te praat. Meisies is baie keer anders...en hulle drink sodat hulle makliker met ouens kan vry. Of die meer algemene rede dat hulle nie wil omgee nie en daardie lekker gevoel kry. Ouens drink ook baie keer om vir meisies te gaan of om die spesifieke meisie dronk genoeg te kry deur vir haar drank te gee sodat sy met hom sal vry of meer” (P-34M)*
- Q69: *“Meisies is meer bekommerd oor wat hulle ouers gaan sê, maar nie die seuns nie. As ‘n seun dronk is, dan gee hy nie om wat hy doen of sê nie en dit kan maar voor sy ouers ook wees” (P-14M)*
- Q70: *“Meisies doen snaakse goed! Meisies raak vatterig en vryerig en hulle sal teen mens skuur of lang drukkies gee. Hulle sal ook vir alles lag en baie praat. Seuns raak ook vryerig - hulle sal konstant aan ‘n meisie vat, of speels aan hulle stamp. Dan raak seuns bakleierig – hulle dink enige iemand wat na hulle kyk soek moeilikheid” (P-5M)*
- Q71: *“Ek dink oormatige drangkewoontes van seuns en meisies is daar nie juis ‘n groot verskil nie...maar tienermeisies is anders...hulle begin goed doen wat ‘n mens nie kan glo nie, hulle doen goed wat ek nie eers wil neerskryf nie, dit wat hulle doen is nie toepaslik nie en dit is wanneer hulle begin stil raak en aanlê en jy kry ook daardie soort wat aanhoudende lag en hulle self natmaak” (P-12M)*

- Q72: *“Sommige ouens raak aggressief en dit kan lei tot bakleiery, wat baie gevaarlik is” (P-7F)*
- Q73: *“Daar is beslis ‘n verskil...party seuns raak aggressief en meisies raak anders...(P-26M)*
- Q74: *“Daar is ‘n groot verskil tussen meisies en seuns. Seuns baklei gewoonlik...die meisie was so dronk dat sy met ‘n vreemde ou sex gehad het...dit is dinge soos dit wat mens se reputasie vernietig. Party seuns raak so dronk dat hulle by enige en elke meisie aanlê net om hulle behoeftes te bevredig, en dieselfde met party meisies” (P-11F)*
- Q75: *“Meeste seuns kan hulle drank limiete dophou, maar met meisies is daar geen stop as hulle gewoonlik drink nie. Meeste meisies kan glad nie hulleself wees as hulle onder die invloed van drank is nie” (P-53M)*
- Q76: *“Ek sien nie juis die verskil tussen meisies en seuns se drinkgewoontes nie...dit is dikwels meisies wat net nie die drank kan hanteer nie” (P-7F)*
- Q77: *“Seuns drink omdat hulle wil rebels wees en wil aanjaag en hulle maak die meisies dronk sodat hulle seksueel misbruik kan maak van hulle. As ouens dronk word, is hulle meer aggressief en seksueel en as meisies dronk word is hulle laf, lomp, giggelrig en ook meer seksueel” (P-29F)*
- Q78: *“Drank beskadig verhoudings met vriende en geliefdes omdat goed gedoen word sonder om daarvoor te dink...drank het ‘n aaklige effek op tieners se persoonlike lewe en dit gebeur met die helfte van die klas...dit moet stop”(P-13F)*
- Q79: *“Tieners gee nie om oor oormatige drinkgewoontes nie - al wat vir hulle saak maak is dat hulle gedrink het en dat hulle dronk is” (P-14M)*
- Q80: *“Tieners sien wat met ander gebeur wanneer hulle so onder die invloed van alkohol is, maar hulle wil nie hoor nie. As ek so na dit kyk, kan ek nie verstaan hoekom hulle nog steeds so aanhou drink wanneer hulle al klaar so dronk is nie” (P-59M).*
- Q81: *“Intervensie moet behels dat mense vir tieners op ‘n jong ouderdom leer die nadeel van drank soos dat dit jou niere beskadig en jou breinselle doodmaak” (P-30F)*
- Q82: *“Ek dink dit is nodig, maar ek dink nie tieners sal na die raad luister nie. Tieners is al so gemaklik met drank, om 18 te word gaan nie regtig ‘n verskil maak nie. Drank is al so deel van hulle lewe ek weet nie of hul daaruit sal kan gehelp word nie” (P-7F)*
- Q83: *“Ons moet ‘n verskil begin maak in ons vriende se lewens. Vertel hulle wat mense daarvan dink. Ons kan ‘n verskil maak in ons wêreld as almal mekaar aanmoedig” (P-8F)*
- Q84: *“Oormatige drinkgewoontes neem beslis toe onder die tieners en hulle moet dus gewaarsku word oor die newe-effekte en oorsake verder in die toekoms in” (P-37F)*

- Q85: *“Die enigste manier om dit te voorkom is deur om ouers betrokke te kry om hulle kinders van sosiale standaarde te leer en om hulle nie te veel beperkings te gee nie. Meeste gevalle van oormatige drinkgewoontes is te danke aan nuuskierigheid, omdat dit vir hulle verbode was en omdat hulle dit nooit kon ervaar nie” (P-29F)*
- Q86: *“Die intervensie moet ook met tieners se ouers praat om ‘n oog op hulle te hou sodat hulle nie dalk nie drank in hulle eie huis sal gee nie en hulle moet dit juis wegsteek van die kinders af. As daar tieners is wie se ouers baie drink, moet daar mense wees wat met hulle ouers kan gaan praat”(P-30M)*
- Q87: *Susy: Ek dink uhm....soos ek kan nou vir almal sê drank is sleg en ons almal weet wat dit is maar die punt is ons almal wil dit actually self ervaar...en self ondervind okay ons is nou in daai stadium...as ek by Nicci aansluit okay ek het baie streng ouers gehad...hulle was soos pastoormense...en almal het verwag as jy pastoormense is moet jy voor in die kerk sit, jy mag niks doen nie, jy mag nie outjies het nie, jy mag nie drink nie en dit was verskillende pressures en dan kom die ander familie en die niggies en sê: “kom saam met ons, jy doen niks fun nie” en dan sal ek saamgaan maar dan sit ek net daar en kyk ek net hoe hulle actually losbandig word en hoe hulle val oor die ouens en maak ‘n totally fool van hulleself net vir die ervaring...en nou...almal van hulle is baie easy level so wanneer ons college / universiteit is weet ons wat gaan gebeur so ons is verby die fase...so ek dink basically maybe is dit net vir die ervaring of net ‘n stadium...*
- Q88: *Jani: Jy’t nou gesê jy dink dis nou net deel van tieners se lewe, maar ek dink elke liewe persoon is gebore met iets in jou brein dat jy wil experience of dit nou soos drank is ...dit gebeur nou net meestal by tieners want dis waar jy begin grootword en jou hormone begin inskop en ek dink dit gebeur somtyds eers na skool, maar ook dis kind of soos ‘n stereotype dat dit net tieners is, want daar is kinders wat al jonger of selfs baie ouer begin...die meerderheid is net tieners. Jy word gebore met die wil om nuwe dinge te experience...*
- Q89: *Jen: Ek dink as jy vroeër begin dan as jy op universiteit kom is nie als so nuut en wow ek wil nou als probeer nie...dan het jy al bietjie exposure gehad en weet wat is wat en wat werk vir jou en wat doen nie en dan gaan jy nie soos noodwendig....*
- Q90: *Mimi: As mens na ons matrieks kyk is van soos 2013 of 2012 matriek was dan het hulle soos al in graad 8 begin...selfs ander mense in ander skole... hulle is nog steeds uitgehak...teenoor wat hulle was...hulle hak net meer uit en drink net meer omdat hulle meer drank kan vat...so nee, ek dink nie dis noodwendig so dat jy vroeër moet begin nie...*

- Q91: *Nicci: Ek dink dis soos as mens 'n lisensie kry as jy uit die skool uit is en jy wil soos rerig erg dit hê en as jy moet soos...ek se nie dat jy't glad nie gedrink in jou skoolloopbaan nie...dan moet...soos...as jy 18 is en kan begin drink dan doen jy net heeltyd en dan het jy 'n kar so dan is jy nog onverantwoordelik ook want jy kan ry en dronk wees...jy's net meer ...soos jy weet wat jou limiet is soos bv jy kan net 2 ciders drink anderste....*
- Q92: *Mimi: Ek dink dis totaal en al net jou eie keuse...want ons het soos uhm...ek ken 'n vriendegroep en dan sal die meisie altyd 'n latte bestel en niemand gee om nie en worry rerig daaroor nie...soos ...niemand sê ooit: "oe jy moet jy moet" nie...want ek dink tussen meisies is dit...niemand gee rerig om of jy drink of nie drink nie...jou vriendegroep nie... want as jy nie drink nie..."cool vir jou!" en as jy drink... "so"... maar by seuns dink ek is dit soos van okay jy moet want jy's deel van ons en jy gaan soos 'n gay lyk as jy sit met 'n coke en almal met 'n bier..."*
- Q93: *"Dit kan ook wees dat soos sekere pelle soos ander pelle dare om 'n meisie se drankie of iets te spike....hulle word gedwing om dit te doen en as jy dit nie doen nie is jy nou weer die uit een..."*
- Q94: *Chani: Ek dink dis nie net vriende wat mekaar pressure nie...soos ek gesê het, die ouer geslagte pressure die jonger geslag om saam met hulle te kuier en wat ek ook gevind het meisies is sterker. Hulle sal veel eerder volwasse optree en sê "ek gaan nie drink nie, want dit gaan slegte goed tot gevolg hê" waar seuns ook net sê "okay ek gaan drink"*
- Q95: *Nicci: ... nou hy het gesê dis einde van die jaar...na new years gaan hy nooit weer drink nie... (giggel) en hy't dit eintlik nie gedoen vir heeltemal... 'n lang tyd nie en nou het hy weer in die gat getrap soos hulle sê... dis soos half hulle probeer maar groepsdruk by die seuns is net so erg en nou is almal net soos: "Oe, maar nou wil jy beter raak...." Ek weet nie...die ouens moet net stop om mekaar te judge dink ek....*
- Q96: *Emily: Ja, maar baie seuns het ook soos slegte families en slegte agtergronde en goed en dis hulle enigste uitweg en goed om te drink en hulle dink nie hulle sal addicted raak of enige iets nie maar hulle drink...*
- Q97: *Susy: Okay, soos hulle het gesê dat drank jou laat lekker voel...maar ek dink veral soos jy ouer word en veral vroumense dan gebruik jy later drank as troos en dis baie keer*

die geval en daar is baie ander mense om my wat dit doen en dan val en dan sien jy sodra jy diep val dan gaan dit na dwelms toe en allerhande ander dinge toe en dan is jy so diep in dat jy nie weet hoe om daar uit te kom nie....

- Q98: *Nicci: Wel ek het so half twee... een van my vriendinne se ouers sal vir haar drank koop en dis al wat sy daai aand drink...dis net soos twee ciders...en dis wat sy drink...dan sal sy nie iets anders drink nie...en haar ouers weet dis al wat sy drink en dan sal sy nie dronk raak nie... En dan is daar ander ouers wat soos sê hulle mag glad nie drink nie en as hulle hul ruik dan ...verstaan dan sal die persoon baie erger rebelleer net om te wys dat hulle gaan drink en dit doen en dis wanneer hulle dronk raak en soos verkeerde goed doen. So ek dink daar is ouers wat toelaat dat hulle kinders drink om seker te maak dat hulle net 'n sekere aantal drankies drink...*
- Q99: *Essi: Ek dink soos eerlikwaar...daar is mense wat soos hulle ouers afpers...ek sal eerlik wees ek het al...soos gesê: "as mamma nie dit toelaat nie, sal ek dit erger doen en meer eksperimenteer" en so aan...ek dink dis soos 'n groot ding...tieners wat ouers afpers...*
- Q100: *Jen: Ek dink baie...soos baie ouers besef soos as hulle hul kinders gaan toelaat om soos te kuier by die huis...ek dink die ouers voel hulle het soos meer beheer daaroor al het hulle nie noodwendig nie...ek dink dit kan altwee kante toe gaan, maar soos ek dink baie van daai kinders het dan...hulle voel hulle respekteer hulle en as hulle uitgaan en is nie by hulle ouers nie dan sal hulle soos meer verantwoordelik wees omdat hulle voel hulle ouers soos het al gesien dat hulle dit kan doen en het die respek vir hulle om dit dan te doen...*
- Q101: *Jani: Ek dink nie ouers moet vir hulle kinders drank gee nie...hulle moet net sê "wees net verantwoordelik" want as jy soos saam met jou ouers dronk raak, watse respek het jy eintlik vir jou ouers....*
- Q102: *Riana: Ek dink hoekom meeste tieners so op 'n vroeë ouderdom eksperimenteer, is omdat dit meer nou al aan hulle blootgestel word soos deur ouers, en ouer broers en niggies en goed...so ek dink dis hoekom hulle hul half vergryp daaraan...*
- Q103: *Nicci: Maar my ma was juis so en ek hak nie uit nie... haha ... so dis ook soos jy....as jou ma jou met die regte waardes grootmaak dan sal jy ook so half die regte goed doen...*

- Q104: *Jani: Ek dink mense in so geval, wat soos dronk word en dan doen hulle drugs of word soos ja of hulle word swanger of so...ek dink nie... ek dink eerlikwaar moet jy op een of ander vlak weet wat jy doen... ek dink nie daar is ooit 'n tyd wat jy soos glad nie weet wat jy doen nie... soos jy't 'n radar wat jy gebruik om te weet wat verkeerd is sodat jy altyd weet wat jy doen... uhm...en ek dink party mense ignoreer dit net so dink net "ek is nou dronk so ek kan dit as verskoning gebruik as iets gebeur" terwyl hulle anyways weet wat kan gebeur terwyl hulle dit doen...*
- Q105: *Susy: Ek het eintlik uhmmm...'n storie oor my een vriend...sy het eendag... dis ook groepdruk...sy het eendag toe sy jonger was baie gedrink en soos in 'n kring en goed en haar beste vriend het van hierdie een ou gehou en die meisie het later so dronk geword dat sy nie meer matchmaker probeer speel het nie, en dat sy self flanker het met die ou...en toe later soos voor haar beste vriend die ou gevry en goed...en dit het amper 'n verhouding tussen hulle twee opgebreek...*
- Q106: *Nicci: Uhm ek dink... wel definitief verhoudings wat opgebreek word...soos ek het dit so baie gesien...dan sê ek vir die ou: "Jyt 'n meisie" dan is hy net soos: "O ja"*
- Q107: *Nicci: Ek dink seuns wat baie drink, drink omdat hulle wil afshow voor hulle vriende of soos ek weet nie...meisies doen dit om hul tyd meer half soos te geniet en ek dink ouens doen dit meer om te wys hulle is soos macho...soos hulle kan ook drink...*
- Q108: *Essi: (val in rede) Meisies het genoeg houding om te sê...*
- Q109: *Nicci: ja...soos om te sê nee ek wil nie...soos my vriende ook... hul sal soos sê as hul nie wil nie...maar seuns sal dit doen net om te wys hulle kan en dat hulle mans is...*
- Q110: *Mimi: Meisies...ons aanvaar soos as jy sê nee... dan's dit soos ooh okay...maar as die ouens dan is hulle soos...ah jy's nie 'n man nie...wie's jy nou....*
- Q111: *Chani: Dis soos 'n ding...as meisies sê sy wil nie drink nie, is dit fine maar dan as seuns dan is dit soos wat julle nou sê...jys nie 'n man nie*
- Q112: *Nicci: Ja soos ek weet by sommige mense het ek al gehoor dat hulle seunsvriende het 'n bed gemaak wie met die meeste meisies kan afhaak een aand by Plett en as meisies met meer as 2 ouens afhaak is hulle 'n slet...ja dis 'n prestasie vir die ouens...*

- Q113: *Mimi: Ek ken 'n ander persoon, ek dink sy's nou 2de jaar of 1ste jaar...en sy't my vertel dat hulle meisies het partykeer soos kompetisies gehou om te kyk of die meisies meer as die ouens kan drink...en dan is die ouens soos: "o ja, sy kan haar drank vat..." en dan hou hulle meer van haar...soos partykeer as meisies nie hulle drank kan vat nie is dit soos: "Okay maar sy's nog klein..." en goed soos dit... "sy's nog immature" en "sy kan nog nie saam met 'grootmense' kuier nie"*
- Q114: *Nicci: (val in die rede)...kyk daar is verskillende maniere...wat meisies raak...jy kan...jy kan of soos weird emotions hê en heelyd huil....*
- Q115: *Nicci: ...of die heelyd lag...of jy kan vatterig raak en vry met almal of net slaap...*
- Q116: *Chani: (Val in rede)...Ek stem saam daarmee...maar ek dink ook dat mans raak eintlik ook losbandig...en as vrouens drink...en hulle hoef nie noodwendig enige iets te doen nie, net omdat hulle jonk is, word daar vir hulle gesê "jy flankeer met ander mans", maar as die man dit doen is dit okei...en ook meisies raak nie rerig losbandig nie...ek dink hulle raak net...vriendelik...*
- Q117: *Jani: Ek ken meisies wat...okay...meisies wat graad 11 is en dan wat 'n meisie wat in matriek is en goed... een aand het ons nou gesien hoe sy bietjie te veel drink en toe het almal haar so erg gejudge maar die mense wat jonger as sy is het ook gedrink en dan word sy net gejudge omdat sy in die kring / groepies is drink...En as jy eenkeer dronk geword het, dan het jy maar redelik altyd daai naam... soos hulle hou net aan om daai persoon te judge...*
- Q118: *Chani: As jy 'n ou is en jy's 18 en jy drink nie, word jy gejudge omdat jy nie drink nie...as jy 'n meisie is en al is jy 18, dan word jy gejudge, want daar word van jou verwag om verantwoordelik te wees...jy's nou 18...jy moet gaan studeer... en as jy gaan drink, is jy onverantwoordelik...*
- Q119: *Jani: Ek dink by goed soos...meisies word nie net gejudge as hulle dronk word nie...soos as jy met 'n bottel rondstap dan sal mense sê "ooo kyk hoe cool probeer jy wees"...jy hoef nie noodwendig dronk te word om gejudge te word nie...*
- Q120: *Mimi: Of as die seun soos opgooi soos van drank dan's dit soos "oe, hy't opgegooi", maar as 'n meisie dan is dit soos "jy's 'n slet...jis sy's kommin ..."*

- Q121: Nicci: *Jy lag vir die ouens wat dronk word, maar as 'n meisie dronk word, dan is jy net soos: "slet"*
- Q122: Zani: *Ja, soos as ouens met 2 meisies afhaak, dan is dit niks maar, as meisies met twee ouens afhaak word hulle gesien as soos 'n... "slet"*
- Q123: Mimi: *As ek nou die voorbeeld kan gebruik: sê nou maar....soos global warming...daar is so baie mense wat vir jou sê pasop vir global warming...moenie dit doen nie, moenie dat doen nie...niemand gee om nie! Ek bedoel ek't al baie dit gesien ons kyk...ek het ook al baie...soos dan praat hulle oor drank biologie en niemand maak 'n verskil nie...ek dink dis presies ook so...soos julle netou gesê het, ons praat oor drank of so iets...dan is almal soos aahhhhhh....*
- Q124: Susy: *Drank laat mense voel in daai moment: "Ag, whatever", maar jy gee nog steeds om...miskien moet hulle voorkomingsprogramme meer interessant maak...*
- Q125: Ryan: *Dis as jy uitpass... (ander seuns lag)*
- Q126: Niel: *Ek dink almal het soos hulle eie manier hoe hulle dit beskryf soos sê nou maar iemand wat nie baie drink nie kan soos sê: "Okay, ek kan soos net bv 3 biere drink dan weet ek ek moet stop anders gaan dit te erg raak" en 'n ander persoon kan sê maar net baie meer drink en dink okay...so eintlik moet jy jou limit ken....*
- Q127: Ted: *Ek't ook al gehoor mense begin eksperimenteer in graad 9...*
- Q128: Liam: *Ek dink dis maar 'n tyd in hulle lewe waardeur amal gaan gaan... jy gaan maar daardeur...jy's maar 'n aand lekker dronk saam met jou vriende dan pass jy uit... maar dis vir memories... jy gaan nie elke aand gaan uitpass nie...*
- Q129: Liam: *Ja... maar as jy soos eenkeer uitpass dan wil mense nie weer nie want dis nie lekker nie...of hulle het dit nou klaar experience.*
- Q130: Niel: *My ma sê altyd... elke keer as iemand soos so baie drink en opgooi en uitpass verloor jy 'n dag in jou lewe want as mens daaraan dink... die volgende dag kan mens niks doen nie en net daar lê... of jy sit net heertyd en kyk tv... mens verloor basically 'n produktiewe dag in jou lewe... verloor mens letterlik.*
- Q131: Dirk: *Ja, jy wil ook weet hoe dit is...*

- Q132: *Niel: Ek dink as mense soos nie leer hoe dit is nie, of leer wat dit is nie, gaan jy soos eendag 'n grootmens wees of universiteit toe gaan en jy gaan blootgestel word aan al hierdie goed en dit gaan so awesome wees en dan gaan jy dink dis nie so erg nie...*
- Q133: *Dirk: (onderbreek) dan weet jy nie waar om te stop nie.*
- Q134: *Niel: Ja, maar dan gaan jy dink dis nie so erg nie en dis nie soos die duiwel en goed nie, dan gaan jy ...jy gaan nie jouself kan beheer nie, jy gaan al hierdie vryheid op een slag nie kan hanteer nie... Ja, en dan gaan jy soos jou eerste jaar opskop of so iets...*
- Q135: *Dirk: Ek dink soos as jy weet wie jou regte vriende is en jy weet waar jy staan met hulle, dan hoef jy nie te worry nie... soos aan die begin wil jy soos aanvaar word deur almal, maar deesdae... ek weet nie...*
- Q136: *Niel: Ek het nog nooit in my hele lewe van iemand gehoor wat sê nou maar sê "as jy nie hierdie drink nie" direk of indirek as hulle dit nou sê, is jy nie meer welkom by ons nie...nog nooit nie...*
- Q137: *Dirk: En dan sê nou maar iemand sê vir jou: drink dit...en dis nie jou vriende nie of iets dan as jy sê "nee" dan sal hulle net soos sê: "okay ek verstaan"*
- Q138: *Niel: Hulle is eintlik die losers as hulle dit vir jou sê...*
- Q139: *Stan: Ek dink daar is baie kere wat die mense soos sê ja doen dit en as die persoon soos sê, nee, hy wil nie, dan is dit soos okay en dan is hy dalk soos kwaad vir 5 min, maar hy het gesê hy wil dit nie nou doen, maar dan na 'n rukkie is dit fine, want jy kan nie kwaad bly vir hom as hy dit nie wil doen nie...*
- Q140: *Nic: maar dit is anders....*
- Q141: *Liam: Dit hang af of jy die man wil wees...as jy wil bewys dat jy kan soos... en as al jou pêle daar sit en sê kom ons down, gaan jy probably wees okay, kom ons doen dit maar...*
- Q142: *Researcher: Dan gee jy maar in....*
- Q143: *Stan: Ja, maar as almal dit doen half....*
- Q144: *Niel: Ja, almal het dit gedoen, nou sit hy net daar... en hy's net soos "nee"...dan is hulle soos: "buzzkill!!!"*

- Q145: *Nic: Maar daar is mense wat sê nou maar sleg in 'n toets gedoen het... dan sê hulle nou, nee, kom ons gaan kuier Saterdag of so iets... ja, so mense doen...*
- Q146: *Louis: Hulle sal nie sommer sê hulle drink omdat hulle probleme by die huis het nie... maar mens lei dit gewoonlik af... mens kan sien of jy weet dalk die persoon gaan deur 'n harde tyd... hulle is bietjie anders...*
- Q147: *Niel: Ja, soos ek dink soos dit raak hulle gemaksone...as hy soos heeldag ongelukkig is en nie 'n groot prater is nie, dan kry hy die moed om te praat en hy is gesellig... dis soos 'n wegkom...*
- Q148: *Don: Ja...maar ek dink dis meer...mense wat strenger ouers het, die kinders weet dit...dan drink hulle meer op kuiers...*
- Q149: *Dirk: En dan jok hulle vir hulle ouers...*
- Q150: *Ted: Ek dink baie tieners rebelleer... want as hulle niks kan doen nie, voel hulle uit... Ja... hulle wil wys hulle kan op hulle eie voete wees...*
- Q151: *Liam: Ja, hulle wil wys hulle kan gaan verantwoordelik wees...*
- Q152: *Dirk: Ja, dis beter om eerlik te wees as wat jy vir hulle jok, en hulle vind dan uit...*
- Q153: *Niel: Ja, vertrou is die belangrikste ding met jou ouers...*
- Q154: *Louis: Nee, want hulle sien wat hulle ouers doen en wil beter wees...*
- Q155: *Stan: Ek dink...uhm...ek weet van 'n paar ouers wat eerder vir hulle kinders sal bier koop in plaas van hulle kinders wat self gaan en hulle eie drank gaan koop...sodat hulle weet wat hulle kinders drink...in plaas van dat die kinders soos harde hout sal koop...*
- Q156: *Niel: Maar onthou dis nie iemand anders wat die drank in jou keel afgooi nie...jy moet self die drank letterlik drink so...hulle vertrou jou dat jy op jou eie die regte besluit sal maak...*
- Q157: *Don: Maar dis nie gewoonlik die mense wie se ouers nie vir hulle drank gee nie... dis die wat nie gewoond is nie...*
- Q158: *Niel: Dis die wat skelm dit gaan koop en dan... koop hulle verkeerde goed en dan... drink hulle te veel...*

- Q159: *Don: Ja, mens se ouers moet nog steeds verantwoordelik wees... hy of sy moet nog steeds nie wees soos daai een persoon wie se pa nie omgee as hy uitgaan en opgooi en goed nie...*
- Q160: *Nic: Daar is sulke mense...*
- Q161: *Niel: Ja, daar is sulke karakters...*
- Q162: *Nic: Maar daar is ook mense wat dit glad nie doen nie... Maar vir baie is dit nie actually 'n persoonlike accomplishment nie.... (lag)...en dis sleg...*
- Q163: *Stan: As al jou tjommies soos sien jy hak met daai meisie af bv en almal weet sy was baie dronk...*
- Q164: *Ryan: (onderbreek) dan tel dit nie...(lag)*
- Q165: *Niel: (onderbreek) almal haal jou uit...en...as jy afgehak het met 'n dronk meisie...*
- Q166: *(Liam onderbreek): Wat soos op jou gekots het...*
- Q167: *Niel: dan weet jy...(almal lag...)*
- Q168: *Dirk: Maar soos seksueel... maar ek dink elke persoon sal doen waarmee hy gemaklik is maar jy gaan nog steeds weet as jy dit nie wil doen nie...*
- Q169: *Nic: Ek dink as jy morele waardes het, sal jy nie soos tot op die punt kom waar jy so dronk is (en) nie meer vir jouself kan besluit nie...*
- Q170: *Nic: Hulle drink baie minder, want hulle kapasiteit is minder en hulle kan nie so baie drink nie... (baie van die seuns lag)*
- Q171: *Niel: Ek dink...ek dink... ek weet nie dit hang...meisies is baie erger oor groepies as wat seuns is....so as jou groepie teen dit is en jy's hulle vriende, dan gaan jy nie, maar sê nou maar al is jy nie init of init nie dan gaan jy drink as jou groepie drink...maar sê nou maar ons is 'n groot groep vriende soos bv hierso en sê nou maar as ek nou nie wil drink nie, gaan hulle almal mos nou nie jou uithaal en goed nie...terwyl meisies...hulle gaan nou nie mekaar direk uithaal en goed nie, maar hulle gaan kyk vir mekaar en goed...en aan die binnekant dan weet hulle "o jissou"...*

- Q172: *Don: Soos die ouens drink...baie ouens drink om dronk te raak en baie keer dan sit hulle net aan... behalwe van die meisies drink omdat hulle verkies...hulle wil nie uit voel nie....*
- Q173: *Liam: En as hulle drink, dan ruk hulle heeltemal handuit... (algemene “Ja” “ja-nee” “jo”)*
- Q174: *Stan: Ek dink baie mense drink soos om confidence te kry om met soos meisies te praat en goeters... dan is dit soos die enigste rede hoekom hulle sal drink is om met daai meisie te praat met wie hulle nie sal praat as hulle nugter is nie...*
- Q175: *Liam: Ouens verander baie meer... as hulle dronk raak is hulle heeltemal anders as wat hulle nugter is...*
- Q176: *Nic: Ja, maar hulle drink net soos ‘n halwe cocktail dan is hulle soos....giggelrig...*
- Q177: *Liam: Ja, mens dink daar is ‘n kuier saam met die meisies vanaand...dan kom mens by ‘n kuier aan en sien al die bottels dan is jy soos van... “ahhh”(baie stem saam)*
- Q178: *Niel: Baie keer is mense so skaam oor wat hulle gedoen het dan sê hulle hulle kan niks onthou nie, maar eintlik is hulle net baie skaam...*
- Q179: *Stan: Nee, maar dit hang af wat die meisies doen as hulle so is by kuiers...*
- Q180: *Niel: en dit hang af wat jy sien as jou naam...so as jy sê nou maar as jou vriende nie omgee nie en hulle is jou vriend nie oor wie jy is nie...dan gaan jou naam nooit weggaan nie en wat ander mense van jou dink hang af van wat jy doen....*
- Q181: *Don: Baie keer dan dink mense jy het ‘n naam, maar dan het jy nie eintlik nie en dis ook nie waar dat ouens dieselfde ding oor en oor kan doen nie want my stories...of ek’t al gehoor van stories waar meisies vir ouens ook soos ‘n naam gee omdat hulle elke keer dieselfde doen soos om met baie meisies af te haak, so dis nie net ouens nie...*
- Q182: *Niel: Ja, soos sê nou maar hy’s ‘n player...en sulke goed...meer sulke tags as ander goed...*
- Q183: *Don: Maar dis ook erger vir meisies omdat as meisies dronk raak en ‘n ou vat voordeel van hulle en sê nou maar hulle slaap met die ou, kan dit baie slegter wees vir hulle as*

vir die ou self...so die ergste wat met ouens kan gebeur is dat jy 'n siekte kan kry...met meisies kan jy nie gaan studeer nie...

Q184: *Niel: Jy wil iets lekker doen of iets fun doen....*

Q185: *Dirk: Ja, soos 'n stopstraat uithaal en hom net iewers anders sit...*

Q186: *Niel: Ja, maar ek meen wie gaan nou so iets alleen gaan doen...dis net weird (almal lag)...almal help mekaar...*

Q187: *Stan: Sê nou maar hulle kuier en een begin te kots dan help die seuns almal die een wat kots...*

Q188: *Louis: Ja... dit is so, want sekere mense kan drink en dan het hulle selfbeheer, maar mens kry mense wat soos uithaak wat nie beheer het nie...*

Q189: *Don: Dis 'n besluit wat jy self moet neem...*

Q190: *Niel: Want ons word klaar ons hele lewe vanaf ons klein is soos in LO en ouers en so aan gewaarsku dis nie goed vir mense nie en tieners weet dis nie goed vir hulle nie... ek meen enige iets wat jy so erg gaan doen is nie goed vir jou nie... maar dit hang af van jouself... ek meen ons hoor slegte goed van dwelms ook, maar tog is daar mense wat tik en goed doen... dit hang als van jouself af... jy kan na elke liewe voorkomingsding toe gaan...*

Q191: *Niel: Ek weet ons land is soos onder die top tien lande met die grootste getal alkoholmisbruik onder kinders... onder die ouderom van 18...dis maar 'n Suid-Afrikaanse ding... wel Afrikaners...soos Afrikaanse mense ...*

Q192: *Ryan: Ons hoor soos al van graad 4 af soos moenie dit doen nie... en mense steur hulleself nie meer daaraan nie...*

Q193: *Niel: Ja, maar ek voel nie... ek dink nie daar word baie soos in LO daarop gefokus nie... maar als fokus spesifiek op dit wat jy gesê (het)... die fisiese deel daarvaan... dis sleg vir jou...dis gif... lewerversaking en so aan, maar niemand fokus eintlik daarop dat (jy) letterlik nie meer reguit kan dink nie en daar gebeur goed met jou wat jy nie van bewus is nie en...*

Q194: Stan: Ek dink as jy... ek dink party kinders sal nie eintlik daarvan hou om soos saam met hulle ouers na sulke tipe goed toe te gaan nie... hulle sal nie heeltemal oopmaak soos wat hulle doen saam met hulle vriende nie...

Q195: Niel: Maar dink jy soos ons as ons ons ma's en pa's soos hier gesit het sou ons nie so gepraat het nie... maar ek dink dis nogals 'n goeie idee om saam met jou ma en pa daarna toe te gaan... want dan kan julle saam assosieer en saam goed sien en later soos die... soos iemand soos wat jou kan counsel... kan sien...wat gebeur dat hulle met mekaar kan praat daaroor en op terms kan kom of so iets...

Appendix G: Extract from my reflective journal

Personal Journal

Essays

Today I conducted the first round of data gathering with the Grade 11 learners. I explained the process to all of the Grade 11 classes last week and they had a chance to think about whether they wanted to participate in the study or not. I also asked them to think about whether they wanted to participate in the second round of data gathering in the form of two separate focus groups.

In a test period the Grade 11's weren't writing any tests today and they had the opportunity to take part and write any story about binge drinking behaviour. Many learners were very excited about this project and some even came up to me to ask how they could be further involved. I advised them to think about whether they want to join the focus groups later in the process. After this first round of data gathering I am very excited to begin with the reading of the essays. It looks as if many learners enjoyed writing about this topic.

After reading through the essays I came across some themes that I identified to be further discussed in the focus groups. It was very interesting reading about their stories about binge drinking behaviour and it was evident that some learners had very forceful and interesting perspectives on binge drinking behaviours. It was evident that some learners took the opportunity to write about themselves and their own stories about binge drinking. In order for this study to be ethical I could not use those stories in my first round of analysis. I also came across some stories that shocked me in terms of how some adolescents go about using alcohol these days and the complacency of both themselves and their parents about doing something that is actually against the law.

First focus group: Girls

The first focus group went very well. There were eleven girls who wanted to take part in the focus group discussions. I organized a time in school and during the test period we gathered in the school's media centre. This was a safe space because no one could see or hear the adolescents. I took some biscuits and sweets and we sat in an informal circle. At first they were shy and I was quite scared that I would not get enough information from them. After the first few minutes they became really eager to share opinions and stories, so that I had to remind them constantly to only speak one at a time because otherwise I was not able to hear them on

the recordings later. I had to cut some of them off by allowing only three or four opinions at a time when we were discussing a certain topic. I was worried that we would not enough time, but in the end we just finished our discussion before the bell rang. I could see that the participants were eager to share and had interesting opinions, especially about the boys and the ways in which boys engage in binge drinking behaviour.

Second focus group: Boys

Two weeks after the first focus group I had the second focus group with the boys. There were 9 boys who indicated they want to participate in the discussions. We gathered in a classroom during a test period and had an hour to conduct the focus group. I took biscuits which were quickly gobbled up by the 9 Grade 11 boys whilst all sitting in a circle.

The boys were a bit more sceptical about the confidentiality arrangements and I felt that they were holding back somewhat, especially in the beginning. I reassured them about the confidentiality agreements and they started to become more at ease in the discussions. The boys were talking less than the girls by answering briefly and not explaining. Therefore I had to probe a lot more than during the interview with the girls. This was a more structured process and I could ask different opinions from them, as they were not as eager as the girls and were not shouting out opinions and wanting to give their opinion on every topic. There was one boy who got lost in the conversation and I had to ask his opinion specifically. He was a bit quieter and I often asked him what he thought.

It was interesting to note the differences in viewpoints and perspectives between the two groups. I also noted the differences in responding styles between the two genders, as well as more openness from the girls in talking about specific things. It is possible that the girls might have been influenced by my being a female in the boys' focus groups and therefore the girls could relate to me more easily. I was very excited after conducting both interviews and felt that I had received sufficient information from them.